

No. 230 / APRIL 1992



Green justice

The South speaks out

MONTHLY UK £1.50 AUS. \$4.75 AOTEAROA/NZ \$3.60 CANADA/US \$3.50 ♦ THE PEOPLE, THE IDEAS, THE ACTION IN THE FIGHT FOR WORLD DEVELOPMENT.

WHY COMPROMISE YOUR BELIEFS WHEN INVESTING IN YOUR FUTURE?

At Holden Meehan, we've made socially responsible investing our speciality.

Our recently published Independent Guide to ethical investments has established us as the leading independent adviser in this area.

Whether you're reviewing your pension provisions, or wanting to invest a lump sum - for yourself or for your organisation - we can help ensure a sound financial decision without compromising your principles.

We'd be happy to discuss your plans without any obligation on your part.



Bristol office: Top Floor, 40 Park Street,
Bristol, BS1 5JG.

Tel: 0272 252874. Fax: 0272 291535

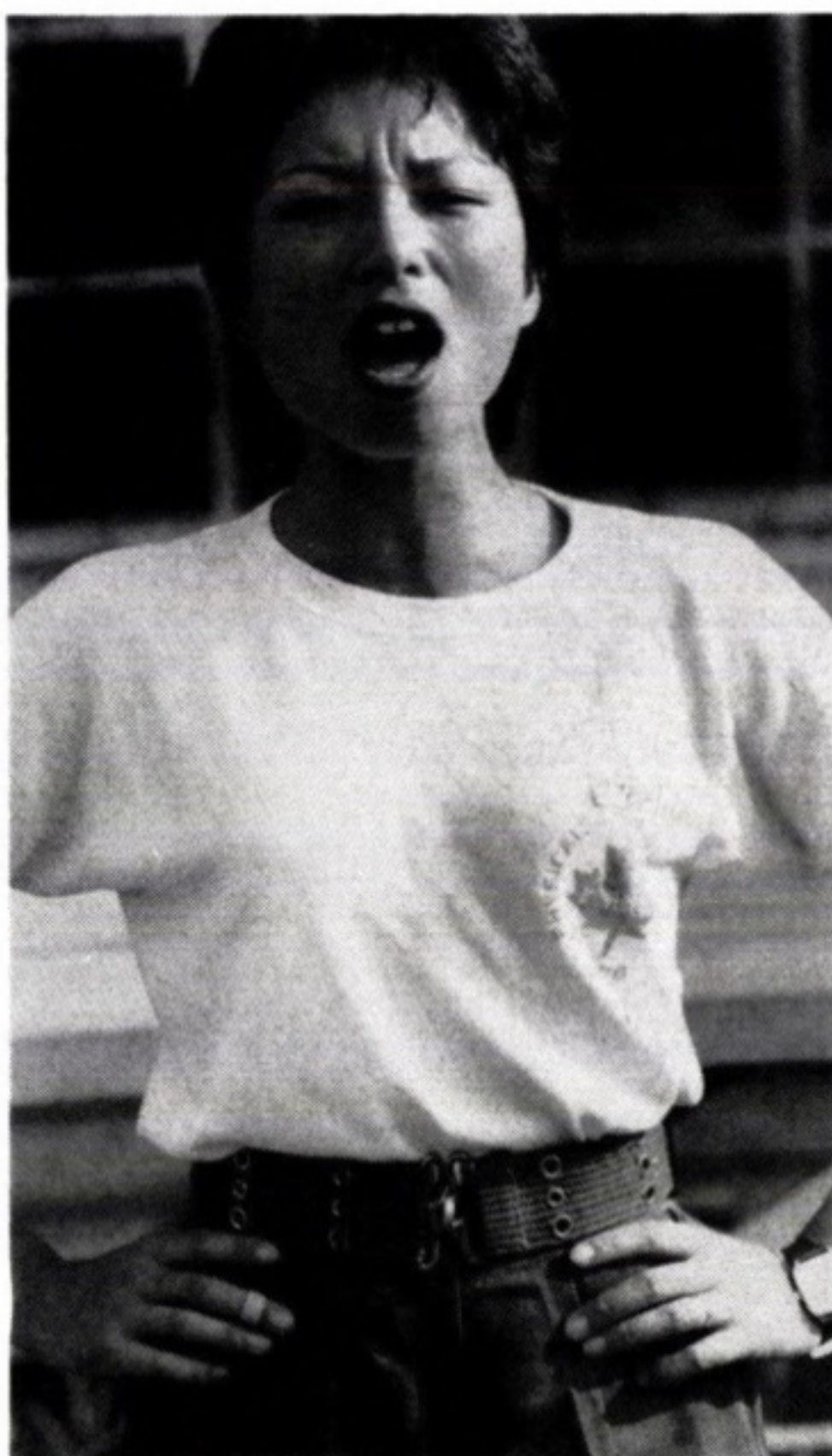
London office: Wells House, 80 Upper Street,
London N1 0NU.

Tel: 071 354 2020. Fax: 071 704 9954

**HOLDEN
MEEHAN**

We would like to remind subscribers that we do occasionally allow their names to be mailed by other organisations. We are particularly careful in the type of organisation that is permitted to mail our subscribers. However if you do not want your name to be released to other organisations please contact your subscription office whose address is inside the front cover.

coming next MONTH



JUNGKUN CHI/CAMERA PRESS

Our Japan Obsession

The press is full of it. Some say blame the Japanese, others that we should learn from them. **NI** enters the fray to find out just what is at stake in the Japanese way of doing things. What are the costs of the economic miracle? Is it exportable? What do Japanese people think about it? Is what the Japanese want so different from what the rest of us are after?

- ☆ Hopes and fears for Japan.
- ☆ Can Japanese technology save the environment?
- ☆ Japan in the Third World and the Third World in Japan.
- ☆ Alternative movements in Japan.
- ☆ Confessions of a workaholic.

NEW DATE!

DISCOVERING NEW WORLDS

a day of discussion, debate, culture, fun, food & discovery on the theme of the new global politics beyond the cold war.

event now rescheduled due to possible spring election!

SATURDAY 17TH OCTOBER 10am - 5pm

Leeds University Department of Adult Education,
Springfield Mount, Leeds LS2

wide range of national, international and local speakers,
workshops on themes around environment, Europe,
nationalism, culture, economy and much more

for details write c/o 7 Providence Road, Leeds LS6 2JQ or
'phone 0532 626343 (day) / 0532 435150 (eve's & w/e)

Organised by Leeds New Times Events Group and Leeds University Dept of
Adult Continuing Education.



ISSN 0305 9529

New Internationalist exists to report on the issues of world poverty and inequality; to focus attention on the unjust relationship between the powerful and powerless in both rich and poor nations; to debate and campaign for the radical changes necessary within and between those nations if the basic material and spiritual needs of all are to be met; and to bring to life the people, the ideas and the action in the fight for world development.

The **NI** magazine is edited, produced and sold by **New Internationalist Publications Ltd** which is co-operatively run by:- Vanessa Baird, Chris Brazier, Wayne Ellwood, Alan Hughes, Guy Montgomery, Gill Moore, Clive Offley, David Ransom, James Rowland, Sue Shaw, Debbie Simms, Kate Stott, Richard Swift, Dexter Tiranti, Jim Turner, Troth Wells. Editorial responsibility rests with the co-operative, whose purpose is to communicate development ideals through print and film to the widest possible audience.

SUBSCRIPTION ENQUIRIES

Please write to your subscription office with full details including (if possible) your subscription number shown on the magazine address label. Please inform us of any change of address.

SUBSCRIPTION OFFICES AND ANNUAL PRICES

UK: 120-126 Lavender Ave, Mitcham, Surrey CR4 3HP. Tel. (081) 685 0372.

Individuals £18.40 p.a.; £5.40 qly.

Institutions £35 p.a.

Canada: 35 Riviera Drive, Unit 17, Markham, Ontario L3R 8N4. Tel. (416) 946 0406. Fax (416) 946 0410.

Individuals 1 yr - \$44.94 (includes \$2.94 GST)

Overseas (by air) 1 yr - \$50

Institutions 1 yr - \$62.06 (includes \$4.06 GST)

GST Reg No R121784854

United States: PO Box 1143, Lewiston, NY 14092. Tel. (416) 946 0406. Fax. (416) 946 0410.

Individuals 1 yr - \$42; *Overseas (by air)* 1 yr - \$50; *Institutions* 1 yr - \$58

Australia and PNG: PO Box 82, Fitzroy, Victoria 3065. Tel. (03) 419 7111.

Individuals A\$37.50; *Institutions* A\$47.00.

Aotearoa (NZ): PO Box 1905, Christchurch.

Individuals \$37 *Institutions* \$43 (includes GST).

Rest of the World: 120 - 126 Lavender Ave, Mitcham, Surrey CR4 3HP. Tel. (081) 685 0372.

Individuals £22; *Institutions* £40. Please pay in sterling by UK Cheque, Eurocheque, Visa, Mastercard or Banker's Draft. Despatch by air only.

EDITORIAL AND ADVERTISING OFFICES

UK: 55 Rectory Road, Oxford OX4 1BW. Tel. (0865) 728181. Fax. (0865) 793152. [Advertising: Tel. (0384) 373421. Fax. (0384) 441904]

Canada: 1011 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario M6H 1M1. Tel. (416) 588 6478. Fax: (416) 537 6435.

Australia: PO Box 82, Fitzroy, Victoria 3065. Tel. (03) 419 7111.

MAILINGS

Occasionally we allow organizations to mail our subscribers. If you do not wish to receive their material please write to your subscription office.

Cover and UK inside pages printed by Pindar Graphics, Scarborough, North Yorkshire.

North American inside pages printed in Canada by Webcom, Scarborough, Ontario.

The **NI** is distributed to the UK news trade by Magnum Distribution, 22-26 Farringdon Lane, London EC1R 3AU. Tel. (071) 253 3456. Fax. (071) 608 0726.

The **NI** in North America (USPS 329-770) is published monthly by New Internationalist Publications, 1011 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M6H 1M1. US 2nd class postage paid at Lewiston, NY. US Post-master send address changes to: The **NI**, P O Box 1143, Lewiston, NY 14092. US Office of Publication, Lewiston, NY 14092. Registered with Alternative Press Index.

Syndication/Permissions: Cover Stories, The Observer, Chelsea Bridge House, Queenstown Road, London SW8 4NN. Tel. (071) 350 3228. Fax. (071) 627 5570.

Reproduction of all material in **NI**, excluding photographs, is free for use by schools.

© **New Internationalist Publications Ltd.**

N I A W A Y

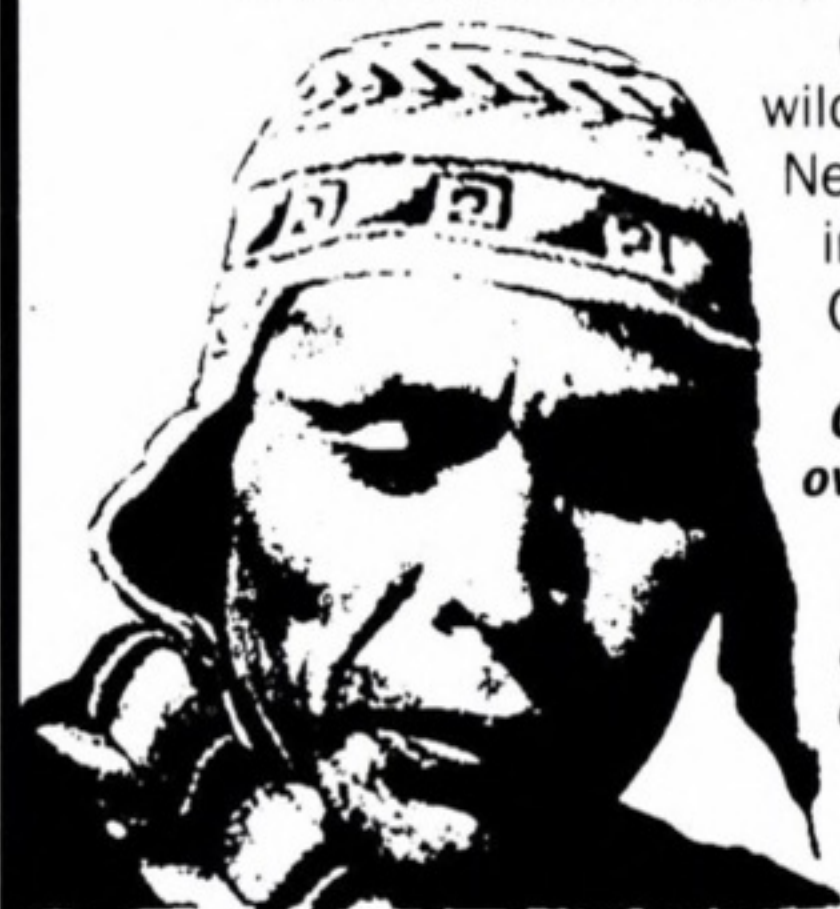
EXPLORE

small groups leave fewer footprints

Adventure is our way of life - we'd like to share it with you. We travel in small, informal groups - average 16 people. With Explore you could meander along the coast of Crete or Corsica; visit old archaeological sites in Mexico, China or Syria; meet the tribals of Morocco, Thailand or Papua New Guinea. You could sail a traditional felucca or a small cruiseboat on the Nile, view big game in Namibia,

experience the Okavango wilderness, walk ancient trails in Nepal or Peru, join a tiger safari in India, or ride camels in the Central Sahara. Get involved.

Choose a great adventure. From over 100 destinations in more than 60 countries around the world. Original tours, treks, safaris and expeditions of 1 to 4 weeks. The complete Explore adventure story is told in our superb 80-page full colour brochure, crammed with photos, itineraries and maps:



Explore Worldwide

(NI) 1 Frederick Street, Aldershot, Hants GU11 1LQ. ☎ 0252 344161

Fully Bonded
ATOL 2595

- ★ USA ★
- ★ AFRICA ★
- ★ S. AMERICA ★
- ★ WORLDWIDE ★

EXCLUSIVE LOW FARES
FROM A SPECIALIST
AGENCY.

KEY TRAVEL

94-96 EVERS Holt
STREET
LONDON NW1 1BP
Telephone: 071 387 4933
ABTA IATA NAITA



EXCITING SAILING IN THE HEBRIDES

Aboard a traditional sailing boat

- ★ Visit the spectacular and remote islands of the Hebrides
- ★ Learn to sail a 100-year old fishing trawler
- ★ Good company, excellent home-cooking and warm accommodation
- ★ Special interest cruises led by experts include wildlife, folk music, art and history
- ★ Beginners and experts, individuals and groups all welcome

Donald Hind, Lorne Leader,
Ardfern, Lochgilphead,
Argyll, PA31 8QN
Tel: 08525 212

LONDON'S FIRST INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL FILM FESTIVAL, APRIL 22nd-26th, ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, SOUTH KENSINGTON. FEATURING: DAVID BELLAMY • LORD BRABOURNE • JUDI DENCH • JEREMY IRONS • LORD PALUMBO • SIR PETER PARKER • JULIAN PETTIFER • JONATHAN PORRITT • DAVID PUTTNAM • RICHARD ROGERS •

A CELEBRATION OF GREAT ACHIEVEMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL FILM MAKING IN INFLUENCING PUBLIC OPINION AND INTERNATIONAL POLICY. FILMS FOCUS ON WORLD'S ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS; eg CLIMATE CHANGE, INDUSTRY, ENERGY, TRANSPORT, TRIBAL PEOPLE, REFORESTATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS.

5 POUNDS PER 3-HOUR FILM SESSION. SEMINARS, LECTURES & DEBATES BY CELEBRATED ENVIRONMENTALISTS AND FAMOUS FILM MAKERS

FURTHER INFORMATION: SEND A STAMPED ADDRESSED ENVELOPE TO THE FESTIVAL OFFICE (NI), 46 CHARLOTTE STREET, LONDON W1P. TEL: 071 580 4350.

WANTED!

- Hikers ready to cry wolf
- Teachers to interpret dolphin language
- Western thinkers to learn Eastern survival
- Green fingers to replant a rainforest
- Culture vultures to scavenge bones of the past

Would you like to spend a fortnight in Poland radio-tracking wolves, or help protect the world's remaining rainforests, or take a lesson in dolphin language, or in Aboriginal dreamtime lore, or could you help collect data on Indian life expectancy, or the use of alternative fuel resources in Ghana or investigate untapped water in the Sahel? If you could - we'd like to hear from you. Two weeks is all you need; no special skills required. Our EarthCorps needs YOU.

Earthwatch is the world's largest charitable organisation matching paying volunteers with scientists who need help on their research and conservation projects. Membership of Earthwatch gives you exclusive access to over 400 teams in 40 countries. Our colour Magazine and Project Briefings update you with the latest news and discoveries, plus invitations to meet the scientists and members that make them. Remember whether you are 70 or 17 - The next discovery could be yours. Call us now for your free information pack.

GIVE TWO WEEKS TO SAVE THE EARTH

EARTHWATCH

AN ADVENTURE YOU CAN FEEL PROUD OF

Belsyre Court 57 Woodstock Road Oxford
OX2 6HU Tel 0865 311600 Fax 0865 311383

Oxford Boston Los Angeles Sydney Moscow



GIVEN THE CHOICE,



wouldn't you invest your money 'ethically'?

If you are investing in a unit trust, a personal pension or a life assurance, the fund behind it is probably holding the shares of companies who do things you don't believe in.

Pacifists are investing in armaments firms, teetotallers in breweries. ASH supporters are investing in tobacco conglomerates, environmentalists in companies with a bad pollution record. And so on...

But it doesn't have to be that way.

Barchester specialises in targetting those investments which put the energy of your money in the direction of your values. In the pensions field, for instance, the longest established of these funds has outperformed 88% of all individual UK Growth pension funds over the last 7 years.

So 'ethical/green' investment doesn't have to be unprofitable.

And 'profit' doesn't have to be a dirty word.

Why not ring us (24 hrs) on 0722 331241, or send the coupon.



BARCHESTER
- Giving you the choice



To: BARCHESTER Insurance & Investment,
32 Market Place, FREEPOST, Salisbury SP1 1BR.
Please tell me more about ethical/green options in personal finance.

Name: Address:
Tel:

Remember, the price of units can fall as well as rise and past performance is not a guarantee to the future.

**ADD AN INTERCULTURAL
DIMENSION TO YOUR LIFE
- BE AN AFS FAMILY -**

Provide an opportunity for a young person to experience a year of life in the UK.

- ☆ Promote international understanding
- ☆ Learn about another culture and language
- ☆ Help broaden the outlook of your children
- ☆ Introduce a new person to your community
- ☆ Provide an unforgettable experience
- ☆ Make international friends

To find out more contact: AFS/IEP, Freepost, Arden House, Wellington St., Bingley, BD16 1BR. Tel: 0274 560677 Fax: 0274 567675



**AFS INTERCULTURAL
EDUCATION PROGRAMMES**

AT HOME OR AWAY SINCE 1946

Charity No 284174 Registered as IEP



**For the first time
in four years Saba
is *not* pregnant.**

She is no longer one of the hundred million women across the world without the family planning they want. The denial of this basic human right continues as the world population increases by 90 million people a year. This rapid rise is compounding the crisis of poverty and the environment in developing countries.



*We're working for basic health
care and quality family planning.*

**A PERSONAL FREEDOM:
A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE**

I enclose a donation to **POPULATION CONCERN** of £ _____

Please tick for more information ☐

Name _____

Address _____

Postcode _____

Please return to: 231 Tottenham Court Road, London W1 9AE
Telephone: 071-631 1546 Reg. Charity No. 1001698



**Scottish
Child**

taking childhood seriously

for a free sample magazine phone 031 220 6502



ETHICAL INVESTORS GROUP

INVEST FOR A BETTER WORLD

Invest with a clear conscience and avoid compromising your principles through socially responsible investment.

At Ethical Investors Group we specialise in giving **INDEPENDENT** financial advice on ethical/green investment **ONLY**. We believe that this dedication makes us the leading advisers in this field.

The Group also shows its commitment to the ethical principles by distributing *at least 50% of its profits* to the charities and socially responsible groups nominated by clients. In the last two years, this distribution has amounted to £20,000.

Ethical Investment is available through; Savings • Mortgage Endowments • Pensions (personal and corporate) • Pension Transfers • Life Assurance • Lump Sum Investments • Unit Trusts • Personal Equity Plans.

For qualified, specialist advice contact

Lee V. Coates A.C.I.I.

ETHICAL INVESTORS GROUP

18 Hazebrouck Close, Hatherley, Cheltenham, GL51 5QA.

Tel: (0242) 522872

To receive the information you require without any obligation whatsoever, complete this form and return it to; *Lee Coates, Ethical Investors Group, 18 Hazebrouck Close, Hatherley, Cheltenham, GL51 5QA.*

(Please tick where appropriate) Name _____

Regular Savings Address _____

House Purchase Plans _____

Pension Postcode _____

Lump Sum Investment Telephone (office) _____

Life Assurance Telephone (home) _____

Unit Trust Investment _____

I understand that the group or charity of my choice can benefit financially if I choose to invest through Ethical Investors Group.



**INVEST FOR A BETTER WORLD
WITH ETHICAL INVESTORS GROUP**



C O N T E N T S



Green justice 4
David Ransom looks under the eco-babble for the real environmental culprits.

The scars of Umlungu 8
Scarred land, scarred faces. Sindiwe Magona reflects on South Africa.

The fridge, the greenhouse and the carbon sink 10
The figures are being fixed against the South – Anil Agarwal and Sunita Narain do the sums differently.

My collection 12
A poem by Dinyar Godrej

Southern embraces 13
The world – gentle and brutal – according to Eduardo Galeano

Armada against Narmada 16
The people of the Narmada Valley in India are still fighting a huge dam-building project funded by the World Bank. Medha Patkar explains why.

GREEN JUSTICE – THE FACTS 18

Look here, gringo! 20
Alex Shankland reports on rubber tappers in the Amazon as they get ready to take over an Extractive Reserve.

Talking garbage 22
There's less rubbish in Sri Lanka than Canada. Lasanda Kurukulasuriya picks over the reasons.

Simply – grief and globaloney 24

Tread gently on the Earth 26
Environmental activists from the South Vandana Shiva, Martin Khor Kok Peng, Charles Abugre and COICA set out their stall for the 'Earth Summit'.

Action 28
Useful addresses, contacts, campaigns, ideas for action and a guide to what's worth reading.

Letters 2
Letter from India 3
Update 29
Reviews: plus Marion Woodman classic 32
Curiosities 34
Endpiece 35
Country profile: Lesotho 36

FRONT COVER: AN AFAR NOMAD FROM THE DANAKIL DESERT, ETHIOPIA, BY CLAUDE SAUVAGEOT

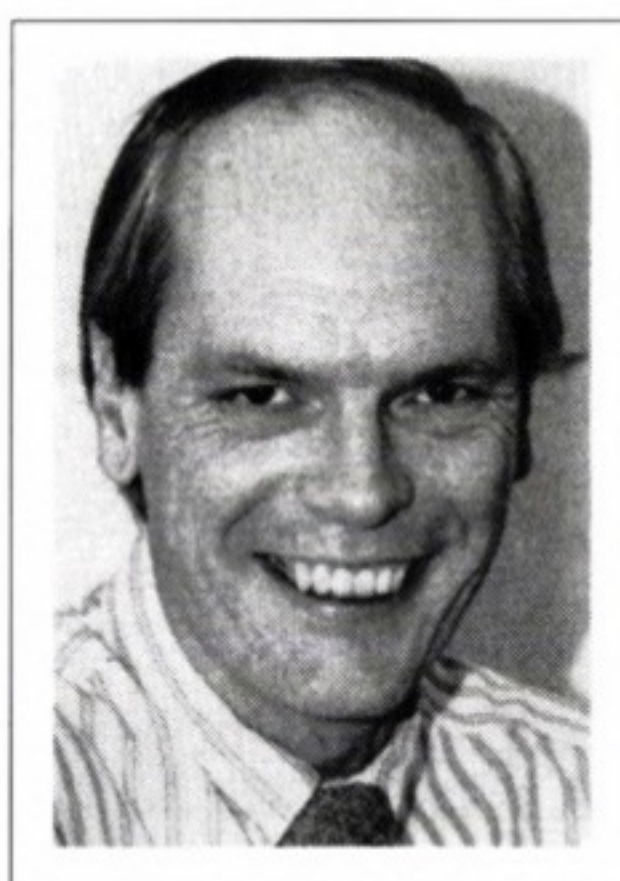
THIS MONTH'S THEME

Green justice

FROM THIS MONTH'S EDITOR

WHY don't you let the South speak for itself?' 'Can you please stop blaming the North for everything and come up with something more constructive for a change?' These are the kinds of questions I'm sometimes asked. This issue of the magazine is at least a partial response to them. Most of the contributors I've included live and work in the South. But to get Southern voices heard takes more than just making space for them in a magazine.

I am reminded of a conversation I once heard between a very good English writer and that great Peruvian story-teller, Mario Vargas Llosa. The English writer painted an attractive picture of *gauchos* in Patagonia sitting round camp fires reading stories to each other late into the night after a long day rounding up cattle. That, said Vargas Llosa, must have been a rare scene indeed, because most of them would almost certainly have been unable to read.



The point is that if you haven't got the resources for education, for making or buying books and magazines, or for paying writers to write, no amount of wishful thinking can make them materialize. Many countries in the South don't have these resources. For one reason or another, including censorship and repression, Southern voices do not get heard enough even in their own cultures, let alone in the North.

Then there is the question of how to edit the text. 'Spiking' (rejecting) a piece that comes in from the South when you're supposed to be letting the South speak for itself might seem, well, a bit paradoxical. You might be charged with 'cultural imperialism' and not have a leg to stand on – not a position the

liberal conscience likes to maintain for very long.

Perhaps I don't have a liberal conscience. I can't off-hand think of any good reason for including something I otherwise wouldn't simply because it comes from the South. That would be condescension of the worst kind.

You might well ask if there is a 'Voice from the South'. The answer is, of course, that there is not one voice, but many, many voices. There are times, however, when different voices come together to say very much the same thing about a particular subject. I think this is one such time, and the environment is one such subject. And what they are saying might seem to you remarkably like just blaming the North for absolutely everything.

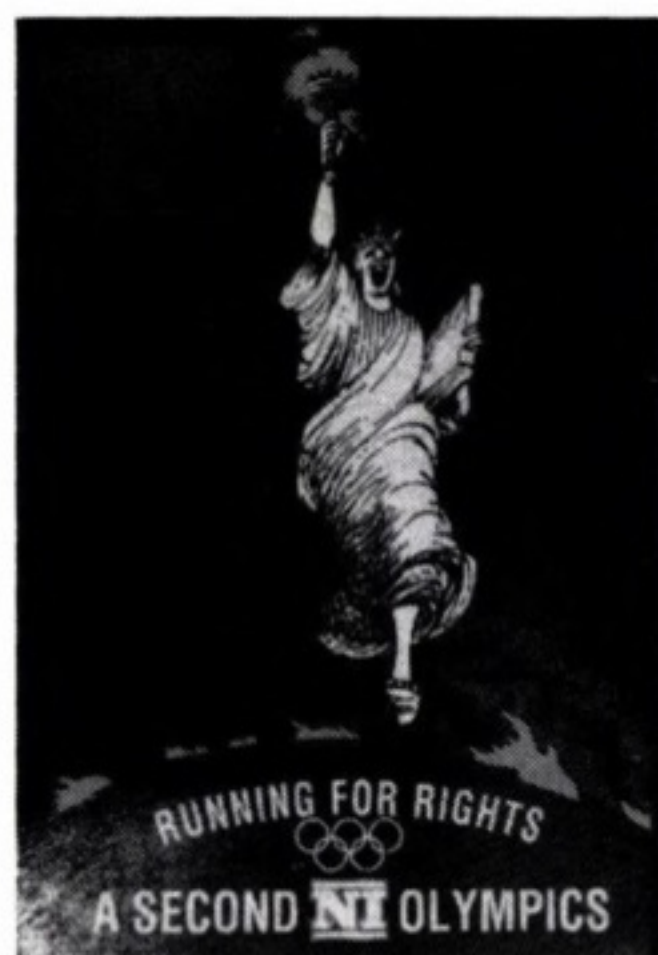
On closer examination you may find that this is not really the case. If the South reminds the North of its power and responsibility then it is doing all of us a service, because that's where you have to start if you want to get anything constructive done. If, in the process, we discover things we did not know before then I think we will have got closer to seeing the Earth as it really is – and to what it is about the Earth that is worth saving.

David Ransom.

David Ransom
for the New Internationalist Co-operative

Neo-colonial drag

I was disappointed that your human rights issue (*Running for rights* (NI 229)) made no reference to the abuses which are being perpetrated against indigenous people worldwide



by massive environmental programmes like the World Bank's Narmada Dam project in India, or by multinational companies which cut down tropical rain forests, forcing the native people away from their traditional homes. It is scandalous that environmental groups in the West are more concerned about preserving rainforests and wildlife than they are about protecting the human rights, and indeed lives, of the forest people. One is drawn to the conclusion that ultimately such groups are simply concerned about the effects of such changes on the international environment, and about the depletion of exciting tourist possibilities. As such they are a form of neo-colonialism in disguise.

Laura Illsley
London, UK

Secular cred

Chris Brazier is wrong to suggest in *Changing charity* (NI 228) that until Oxfam's foundation in 1942 overseas aid had been 'the exclusive property of religion and missionaries'. When Save the Children was founded in 1919, its aims were specifically non-religious and non-sectarian.

Its founder, Eglantyne Jebb, was motivated by humanitarian purposes and went out of her way to recruit followers of



The **New Internationalist** welcomes your letters. But please keep them short. They may be edited for purposes of space or clarity. Include a home telephone number if possible and send your letters to the nearest editorial office. The address is inside the front cover.

many faiths — and of none — to the cause of children's rights. Her vision was enshrined as early as 1924 in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child.

Rodney Breen
London, UK

Intimate links

I was surprised to read — in *50 years of Oxfam* (NI 228) — that 'charities are our main link with the Third World' (p.23). Oxfam may want us to see charities in that pivotal role — but surely the NI doesn't? All of us are intimately linked with the 'Third World' in our daily lives, through the food we buy and the raw materials used in making many of our consumer goods. Through the power and operation of companies based in the North, through the export of waste, debt servicing, patents, insurance, shipping, tariffs, quotas, we all help indirectly to mould that wider unequal relationship. Charity is an important link and a means of personal involvement — but if we see charity as our main link, then development education has failed.

Roy Barry
Sheffield, UK

Veiled hostility

The article written by Sarah Miles entitled *Breaking points* featured in the feminism issue (NI 227) subtly exudes typical traits of hostility towards Islam and the position of women therein as viewed and influenced by the West. It is a view laden with misconception, misinterpretation and exaggeration. Veils, for example, are not as the article states a 'repressive form of Islam' but rather a misguided interpretation of Islamic sources and fashioned by local traditions. We are told that 'fundamentalists' want to quash thinking and action by women. But men who behave like this are extremists.

While I sympathize with Zahra's suffering, Sarah Miles presents a manipulative attack on Islam, and insufficient detail about the Afghan problem.

Nasreen Din
Hayes, UK

Too black

My only criticism of the feminism issue (NI 227) is that almost the entire content was from black women and women of colour — even the cover. Both June Jordan, and Angela Davis,

as well as other commentators in this issue, make it clear that the black/white colour division should be avoided. But white middle-class political women seem hell-bent — from guilt no doubt — yet again to create a division between black and white. As a long-term feminist from a working-class background, I am perfectly aware that black women and all women of colour need to be in the forefront of feminist debate and actions, but I do not find this approach acceptable.

Julia Tant
London, UK

Begun what?

The cover of your issue on feminism (NI 227) showed a female smoker with the accompanying words: 'We've only just begun: feminism in the 1990s'. Do you realize that during the 1990s about five million women will be killed by tobacco? If it was accidental that you included cigarettes as a part of this particular feminist female image, then please consider trying to correct some of the damage done by directing readers to an informative article by Antonia Novello, US Surgeon-General, entitled 'Can we prevent the Virginia Slims woman catching up with the Marlboro Man?' (*World Smoking & Health* 1991, Vol 16, No 2, page 2.)

Richard Peto
Oxford, UK

Last laugh

Could you inform me as to what is the female equivalent of a misogynist? Certainly there is no shortage of them amongst the contributors to the NI.

I feel that they tend to overstate their case. Most of the ladies in this part of Wales appear to be just as happy and confident as their male counterparts and generally enjoy as much 'equality' as their inherent differences from the menfolk will reasonably permit. In any case, they generally have the 'last laugh' by outliving their 'oppressors' by several years.

Richard Morley
Leominster, UK

We men may have 99% of the world's property, earn 90% of the world's income and work $\frac{1}{2}$ as many hours as you, but...you'll LIVE longer!



Phrenitic love

I was disappointed at the limited depth of study in your Columbus 500 issue (NI 226). The articles focussed on the person and his acts, thereby reproducing the very malady they attempt to criticize, and reinforcing those values which encourage us to treat the earth as dead matter waiting for us to manipulate it. Yes, Columbus was a madman; no, we have not called-off our love affair with him.

The roots of this *phrenitis* (as 'Dr Feliz' calls it), yours and mine, are deep and well-developed. They force us to 'construct' the world according to our own paradigms and to deny the way in which others give meaning to things. How

much of our survival depends upon conquering the very psyche of native peoples?

I suggest that anybody who is interested should read *The Rediscovery of North America*, published in *Amicus Journal* Vol 13, No 4.

David Stewart
Minneapolis, US

Penance for pillagers

The articles in your Columbus issue (NI 226) prompt the suggestion that the wealthy industrial nations should fly their national flags at half-mast and observe a year of penance. Multinational companies and banks, which for years have pillaged the indigenous peoples of their natural resources, should fully reimburse them, and cancel all outstanding debts, so that they can set about rebuilding their economies.

Ian Dean-Netscher
Newport, UK

Violent unity

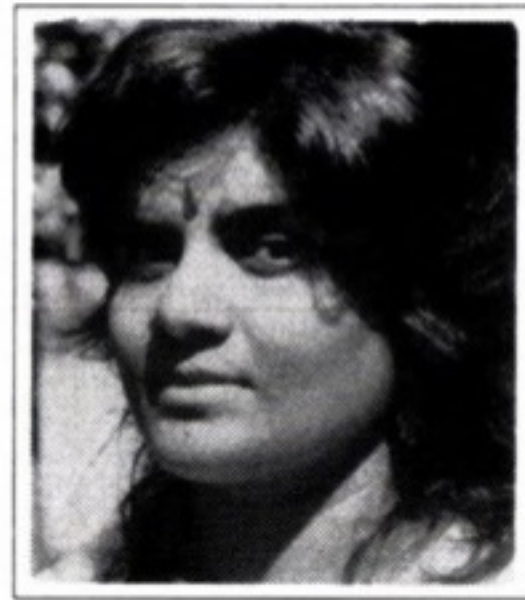
Why is it that NI, which demonstrates sensitivity to the problems of colonial nomenclature by referring to New Zealand as Aotearoa, persists in using the title 'United Kingdom' to refer to the political entity which binds England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland? As many citizens of at least three of these four nations/areas will tell you, this kingdom has been united by English violence, assisted by the elites of the other nations when they deemed it necessary. Particularly where Northern Ireland is concerned, this kingdom can hardly claim to be united by popular will. May I suggest that NI simply give that name of the nation from which a letter or news story comes, for example, 'Aberdeen, Scotland', 'London, England', 'Cardiff, Wales', 'Belfast, Northern Ireland' (perhaps one day to become simply 'Ireland').

Rhonda Mawhood
Quebec, Canada

Ed. replies: Point taken.

The views expressed on the letters page are not necessarily those of the NI.

L E T T E R F R O M I N D I A



They're singing our song

The peace of southern India has been shattered by rampaging thugs. Mari Marcel Thekaekara detects a chant that is mounting in international popularity.

THE south of India has always been known for its stability and its general atmosphere of non-violence and serenity when compared to the turbulent north. So the outbreak of frenzied violence which came around Christmas 1991 took everyone by surprise.

Tamils who had for generations lived in Karnataka state found themselves the targets of criminals and thugs on the rampage. The issue at stake was a historic feud over how the waters of the Cauvery River should be shared between Karnataka and its neighbour Tamil Nadu. Agriculturalists from both states regard the Cauvery as their lifeline. So when the tribunal which had been appointed to look into the dispute proclaimed its judgment, all hell broke loose.

The people of Karnataka claimed that Tamil Nadu had been favoured. 'Those Tamils in the Thanjavur region get three crops of rice while we have to struggle for one measly harvest. Our people don't even have drinking water,' was a popular Kannadiga complaint. Meanwhile, the Tamils grumble that it's their hard work which makes them so prosperous.

However the violence was not whipped up by farmers, but by politicians and others with vested interests. In this part of the Nilgiris, half the population has never been anywhere near the Cauvery river. What happened was a local brawl between two people who happened to be Tamil and Kannadiga. The Tamil set fire to the Kannadiga's hut and the latter ran away to a friend's house. A local newspaper so exaggerated the incident that in a couple of days there was looting and mayhem across the border in Gundulpet, a small town 50 kilometres away.

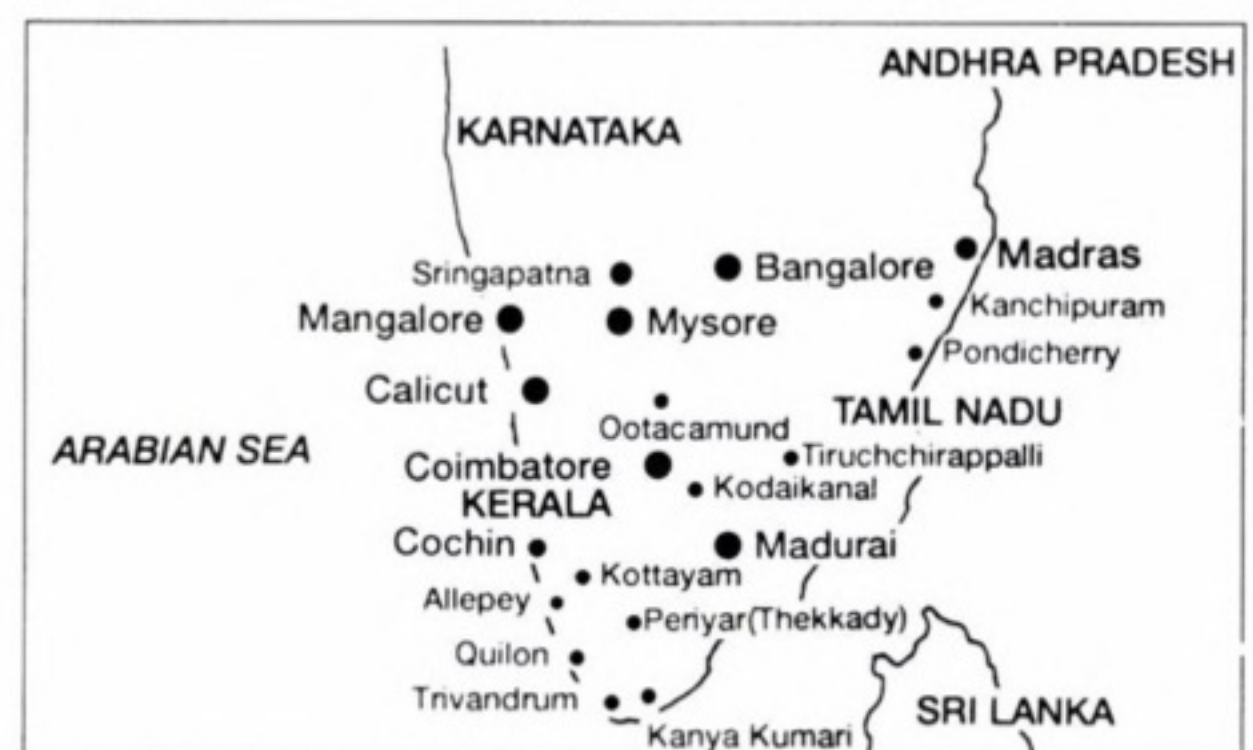
The Kannadigas in Gundulpet swore they were avenging the attack on their kinsfolk in Gudalur. But at the root of this dispute were local jealousies and petty grudges which were rekindled and encouraged by individual government and police officials. Ironically, half the farms and houses that were looted and burnt were not even Tamil. They belonged to people originating from Kerala whose families settled in Tamil Nadu.

The violence in Karnataka was on a larger scale than in Tamil Nadu. And the press reported that while the capital Bangalore burned, the Chief Minister was far away in another state at a musical soirée.

The fear has been that these events portend worse to come – fanatical ethnicity, communalism, regional chauvinism (call it what you will). Many of us see ourselves simply as Indians. We have no other primary identification. Our fami-

lies have migrated from one state to another, from the north to the south. There has been intermarriage between men and women of different communities, religions and castes. And we have transcended many of the barriers that might previously have divided us.

The theory of sons (never daughters, please note) of the soil – otherwise known as regional differences – is floated up whenever politicians find it expedient to create a diversion from a



flagging economy, unemployment and poverty. Their intention is to channel anger at 'safer' targets – safer for the politicians that is. Not for the terrorized Tamils.

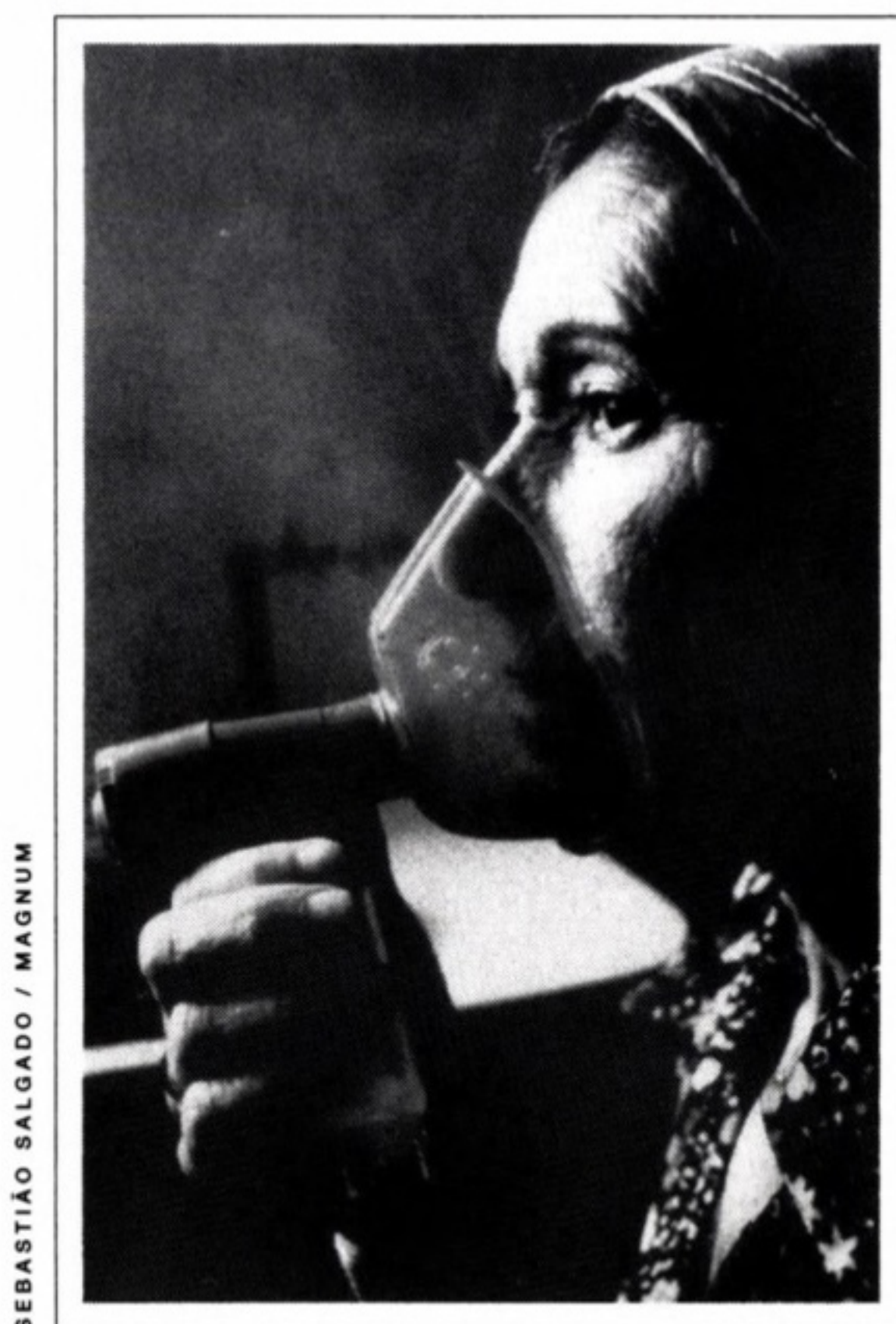
And there are echoes everywhere of this phenomenon which is sometimes called 'ethnic unrest'. The war between Serbs and Croats in Yugoslavia, for example. Or the emergence of neo-Nazism in Germany, whose targets are the immigrants who have done the dirty jobs West Germans stopped doing a decade ago. In the US Afro-Americans have street battles with Hispanics: 'We were here first. Go back to your country. This land is our land,' is the refrain.

In France, the Prime Minister and President are politely reiterating that they don't dislike non-white immigrants. They merely don't want too many of them. None of these sentiments are viewed as fascist in the new climate of the 1990s. There is a recession. There is economic depression. And some heads have to roll. Naturally, loyalties are to the sons of the soil. For the others, too bad. You served your purpose. Did a good job. But surely you see our people must come first.

In Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, in Punjab, in the US, in Germany, France and Britain, they are singing the same song. The refrain is frightening. But it is a popular tune.

Mari Marcel Thekaekara has been working for the last seven years on a project she and her husband started for native people in the South Indian state of Tamil Nadu.

Green justice



SEBASTIÃO SALGADO / MAGNUM

*Now's the time for the North to cut the eco-babble and listen to the South for a change. **David Ransom** explains why – then shuts up.*

THE caged birds and animals were silent in the darkness. The place was deserted. I followed a familiar path, around the dozing exhibits in the Monkey House, past the life-sized memorial to Guy the gorilla and into the Reptile House of the London Zoo. Drinks were on offer at a private environmental function.

An iguana peered out from its brightly-lit box as I talked to a woman from one of the largest international nature conservation agencies. As it turned out we shared –

with the iguana, no doubt – a degree of gloom about ecology. Private polls had revealed, she said, that her organization's supporters were not prepared to change their lifestyles to save the planet. Well, if *they* – the active supporters of nature conservation – weren't, who would be? Anyway, it meant no more campaigning to change lifestyles and consumption patterns in the North. That would put her organization out of business and her out of a job.

I should not have been surprised. It is,

after all, election year in both the US and the UK. The environment is not a priority on the election campaign trails. Imagine this from one of the candidates: 'Read my lips! No more carbon emissions!'; 'Cut consumption and save the earth!' Such slogans would be, everyone agrees, among the shortest political suicide notes ever written. No-one – or almost no-one – in the North is prepared to vote for change. We all – or almost all – still require of our political leaders that they at least *promise* greater



SEBASTIÃO SALGADO / MAGNUM

Opposite page: Hard to talk when you can't breathe. A woman from Cubatão, the most polluted industrial city in Brazil. Above: Environment issues look different from the perspective of the poor down in Rio.

material prosperity all round.

This is a problem, and it is *our* problem in the North. Because, unless the evidence provided by scientists and our own eyes deceives us, the threat to the environment comes from what we consume in the North. It does not matter which measure you take – against emissions of greenhouse gases like carbon dioxide and methane, ozone-depleting chlorofluorocarbon (CFC) gases, toxic or radioactive wastes, garbage or chemicals – the degradation of the earth and the threat of global warming comes from the wealthy minority who live largely in the North.

But it is not just a problem for the North. It is also a problem for the poor majority who live largely in the South. The unusual skin cancers that are appearing in southern Chile may be the result of a hole in the ozone layer over Antarctica, but the CFC gases that punched the hole come from the North. The truth that people on a small planet depend upon each other for their survival is self-evident.

What is less clear, however, is what that means in practice. Here the problem for the people of the South is not so much with the planet as with the people of the North. Because, since we in the North won't pay

the real cost of living as we do, we look for an escape route. Almost by tradition, we find it to the South.

So, with a bit of fine-tuning of the evidence, we change the subject. We say that if the South fits itself out with refrigerators, cars or televisions on the same scale as the North, the pollution of the planet will spiral upwards out of control. Anyway there are just too many people in the South – its population is growing too fast. Their governments are incompetent and corrupt. Besides, the people of the South are more vulnerable to environmental disaster from, say, rising sea levels or soil erosion than we are in the North. We shift our attention away from what we can see happening here and now, onto what might happen somewhere else in the indefinite future.

There may be an element of truth in all these points. They are important issues that have to be tackled. But that does not matter. They are being deployed by the North not because we have the slightest intention of tackling them, but to get us off the environmental hook. It's not a question of blame and guilt, but of power and responsibility.

For, precisely because of its wealth, the North actually *does* have the power to

inflict the environmental costs of its 'lifestyle' on the South. It *can* use the South as its environmental sink. It *can* impose conditions on the South for the receipt of aid or credit. It *can* and in practice *does* insist that the South remains poor and relatively 'green'. The vulnerability of the South has become the world's single biggest environmental problem. A psychologist might say that the South is being required to 'collude' with the North's self-deception about the responsible stance it thinks it is taking.

You can see this process at work in Rio de Janeiro, where in June the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) will convene. It's billed as the biggest-ever gathering of world leaders, a veritable 'Earth Summit', and it's meant to usher in a new era of global co-operation to save the planet.

Rio is a very tempting venue and no doubt there will be a good turn-out for the conference. But the city has its problems – violence, drugs, destitute children on the streets and the most terrible pollution.

The Avenida Brasil runs from the international airport into town and crosses one of the most run-down areas of the city. When it rains the road floods, the traffic



JØRGEN SCHYTTE

Survival's unsung experts.

stops and the more unruly elements have on occasion been known to make piratical raids on stranded vehicles.

Not, you might think, a problem that ranks high among Rio's priorities. But somehow it crept to the top of the list. Very little can happen in debt-strapped Brazil these days without the say-so of its Northern creditors. Since they will be turning out in large numbers for the 'Earth Summit', and doubtless would not take at all kindly to being hijacked on the road to Rio, one can only assume they had at least some influence over the preparations.

So, in a city where just last year I was all but blinded by air pollution, hundreds of millions of dollars are now being spent on an elevated motorway – the 'Red Route' – that will smash up the communities of the turbulent citizens of Rio in the interests of whisking UNCED notables over their heads and into CFC-consuming air-conditioned hotels.

These notables will then focus on an agenda they have fixed for themselves – and particularly on climate change and biodiversity. The general principle is that the South should sign up to an agreement to limit emissions of 'greenhouse' gases like carbon dioxide, and preserve tropical rainforests as 'gene banks' for scientific research and the medical industry in the North. As for 'development', the only specific suggestion so far is that a 'Green Fund' should be set up to support environment-friendly initiatives, administered by the World Bank.

Now, the World Bank may be many things, but an environmental protection agency it certainly is not. Lawrence Summers, the Bank's chief economist, observes flippantly in a leaked internal memo that in some African countries air pollution is 'probably vastly, inefficiently low compared to Los Angeles or Mexico City'. He argues that the only thing pre-

venting the export of more pollution from North to South is the physical difficulty of moving it. The London *Economist* remarked, on publishing the memo, that 'on the economics, his points are hard to answer'.¹

But shifting the stuff is getting easier all the time. Carlos Milstein, deputy director of the Office of Technology Imports in Argentina, claims that 'in 20 years of working at customs I have never seen the quantities of industrial waste and trash [that are now] coming into this country from the US and Europe.' Last October it amounted to 200 tons a week of hazardous waste; local entrepreneurs are now planning to import 250,000 tons of plastics a year for incineration and land dumping.

Ironically, the worst dumpers are the nations with the toughest environmental laws, like the Netherlands, Austria, Switzerland, Germany and the US. Tough laws at home mean higher costs and so instead of cleaning up their act many companies simply ship their filth elsewhere. It may look good locally in the rich world – but it makes no difference in global terms. In Brazil, for example, huge lead smelting plants are working flat out recycling the lead from car batteries returned by well-meaning motorists in the North. Workers in and around these smelters now have very high levels of lead in their blood.²

To the free-market economists of the North it all makes perfect sense. Goods come and go as they please, and disposing of Northern toxic wastes in the South is cheaper and easier than it is in the 'environmentally-conscious' North. This is the way North-South trade usually works – and has worked for the past decade. During this time heavily indebted Southern countries have been required by the World Bank to follow what are called 'structural adjustment' policies. These policies demand

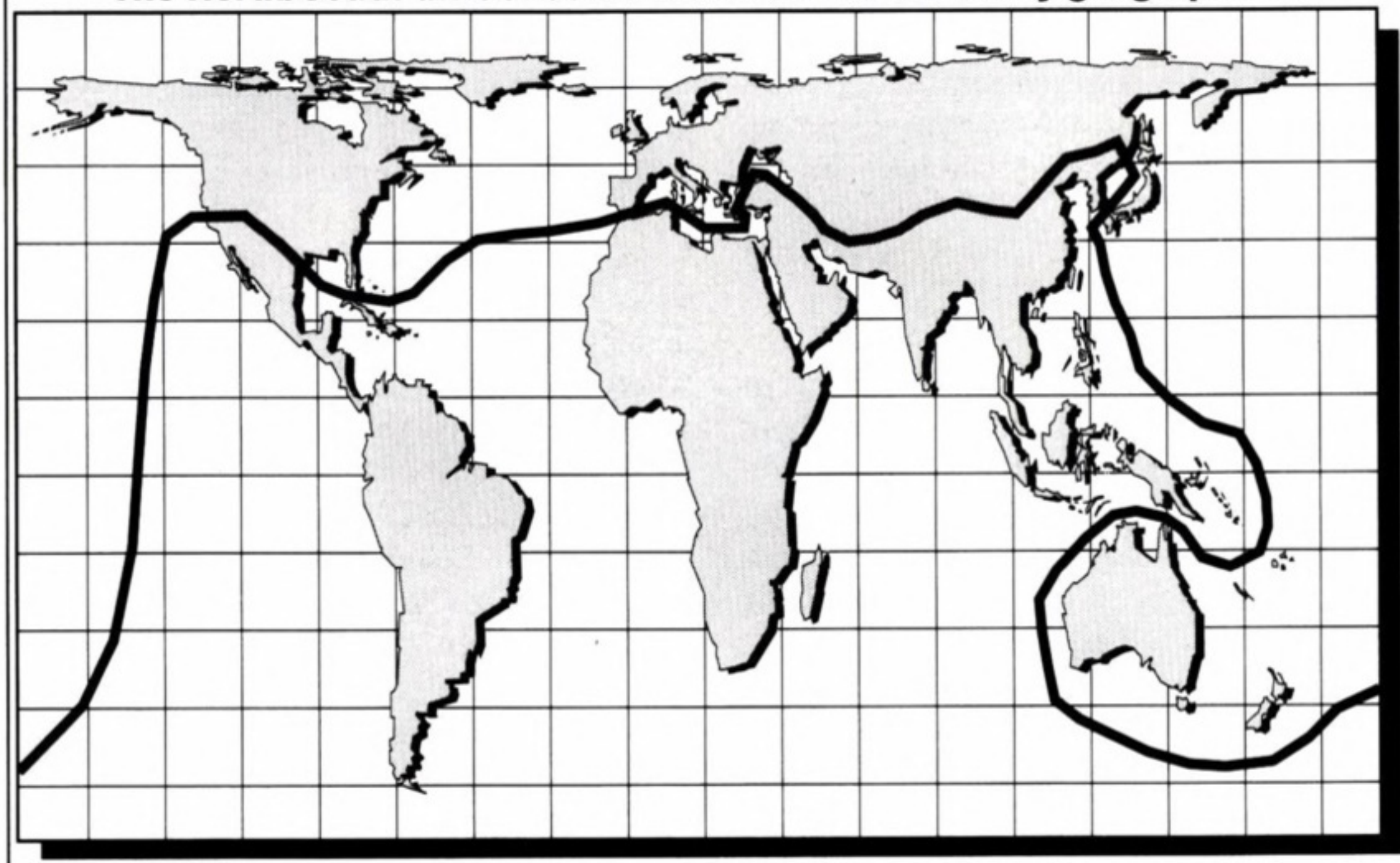
exports of any kind in exchange for credit. If you have natural resources like copper or wood, then you must produce more of them and cheaper. Because everyone else is required to do the same thing there is a glut on the world market, your exports get cheaper and cheaper and so you must export more and more.

The net result is that the North gets plentiful raw materials cheaply – and therefore doesn't have to worry about conservation – while the South is left with torn up forests, polluted rivers, gigantic holes in the ground and an impoverished people living in an almighty mess. All that's new is that the South now has the option of importing toxic wastes as well as exporting raw materials.

The body that sets the rules for world trade – and so could intervene to stop this happening – is the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Its latest 'round' of negotiations has been trundling along since 1987, trying to reach agreement on things like 'Intellectual Property Rights' and 'Trade-related Investment Measures'. It is currently stalled on a dispute between the US and the European Community over farm subsidies. It does have a committee on the environment, set up in 1972. But, in all that time, it has never actually met.

The undeniable truth is that, in practice, the North is much less bothered about the environment than it pretends to be. We might churn out scientific papers and documentaries, we might listen with rapt attention to environmental Jeremiahs, but given a chance most of us still go shopping in cars – and only use our feet when we vote against self-denial. Hit by the most severe economic recession in 50 years, yet finding the pollution of the planet continues unabated,³ we may well discover that the rest of the century will have to be spent

The North/South divide: economic rather than strictly geographical.



revising conventional wisdom on both the environment and the economy of the North. But we have not started yet.

Not, you might think, a very auspicious point from which to launch a UN Conference on Environment and Development. Alternatively, you could say that never was such a conference more sorely needed – so long as it produces results. But what results? What *is* to be done?

Well, that's not really in dispute. Ever since the first environment conference in Stockholm in 1972 – and the publication of the Brundt Report in 1980⁴ and the Brundtland Report in 1987⁵ – there's been very little argument about what *should* be done.

The catchphrase today is 'sustainable development'. It comes from Brundtland and it contrasts a largely 'unsustainable' present with our duty to respect the interests of future generations and the need for minimal standards of well-being worldwide. Arguing against 'sustainable development' these days is tantamount to arguing in favour of sin.

But saying things is not enough. Protection of the environment requires conscious, positive, human intervention – legislation, enforcement, education, public information and debate. It needs action like that taken by the Organization of African Unity in 1988, banning the import of hazardous wastes and substantially reducing the trade as a result. There's no way round this. But conventional wisdom at the World Bank and GATT runs in precisely the opposite direction, towards unfettered competition for profit, open borders, deregulation, commercial secrets and letting the market decide.

Junkets like the UN Conference on Environment and Development may produce more cynicism than action. But unless we think of them as at least one of the available tools, we are toying with pessimism as if it were some self-indulgent luxury.

For a start, outside the official conference, Rio is likely to see the largest-ever gathering of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) at what's being called the '92 Global Forum. Their vitality, both North and South, is one of the more hopeful signs. The most effective weapon they have is their ability to think radically – to reflect and influence public *attitudes*. On environmental issues in the North they have clearly had an impact already. The challenge now is to develop and modify that experience by learning from the South.

Is there anything that the North can learn from the South? Environmental organizations in the North have in the past tended to treat the South as if it were a mirror of their own preoccupations. At best there's been a romantic interest in the envi-



MARC FRENCH

No car, no refrigerator, no TV down here – and the eco-conscious North wants it kept that way.

ronmental wisdom of indigenous peoples. Deep as that wisdom runs, and much as we may have to learn from it, the most relevant fact about indigenous peoples is that they continue to be persecuted to the verge of extinction.

But what about the vast majority who live in the cities, towns and villages of Latin America, Africa, Asia? What about those whom we in the North tend to think of as population rather than people? Is it true that people who live without adequate education or health care, often on the edge of hunger, are preoccupied with 'survival' and have no wish to explore the global village?

Well, human survival is what 'sustainable development' is supposed to be all about. When it comes to developing survival strategies the people of the South are experts. In fact they know a lot more about it than the self-proclaimed experts of the North – the World Bank officials who have the power to decide what shape survival should take. It is these people who should be taking lessons from the people of the South – not the other way round.

But something more than an exercise in humility is required. The experts of the North need to recognize that the people of the South matter as much as they do. If that were to happen the world would have to become a very different place.

Take just one example. These days 'democracy' is as much in vogue as 'sustainable development'. But do we have a democratic world? Do we have one-person-one-vote in the global village? If not,

why not? What *do* we have and why? Answer these questions as you will, you are still left with the fact that if we *did* have global democracy then the views of people in the South would count a great deal more than they do now – they are, after all, the majority.

A couple of months ago I was listening to the veteran ecologist Edward Goldsmith at a public meeting in London. He was berating the powers that be for failing to tackle the world's environmental problems. It was, he confessed, a negative and depressing message. So what was to be done? He turned to a Canadian priest and a group of activists from the Pastoral Land Commission in Brazilian Amazônia who were sharing the platform with him. They had been struggling for years against brutal repression and for land reform. Also on the platform were campaigners against the Narmada valley dams in India. 'Our future', said Edward Goldsmith, 'rests with them.'

It was a dramatic gesture. I suppose there was a dash of 1960s 'Third Worldism' about it. I half expected a suitably green ghost of Che Guevara to descend onto the platform. But I also thought he was right. It's time to start listening.

1 *The Economist*, London, 8 February 1992. 2 John Vidal, 'The new waste colonialists' in *The Guardian*, 14 February 1992. 3 *The Sunday Independent*, 16 February 1992. 4 *North-South: A Programme for Survival*, Pan Books 1980. 5 *Our Common Future. The World Commission on Environment and Development*, OUP 1987.

The scars of *umlungu*

Ravaged land. Scarred faces. *Sindiwe Magona* meditates upon her South African legacy.

MY people have their own ways of doing things. We have always had our ways of doing things. 'The ones scrubbed in hot water' could not see this when they came. They came – 'the ones with coloured eyes' – and found my people living worthwhile lives that were satisfying to them. But the newcomers saw only indolence, ignorance and superstition. They saw nothing commendable, nothing worth preserving, least of all emulating. For them our being alive held no lessons whatsoever. It proved nothing. They had their ways. And, in their eyes, these were far, far superior to ours. So began the destruction of my culture. So began our dying.

MIRIAM MCCURDY

My people are a wise people. I do not claim God accorded them special preference in the allocation of grey matter. That would be absurd; as absurd as the claims of superiority made by 'the ones without colour', the ones we came to call *umlungu*.

But my people are patient. We have a saying: 'These mountains were here when we were born. They will be here long after we are gone.' Patiently my people observed the world of which they knew they were a part – equal with the land, the rivers, the trees, the mountains and every other living thing.

Thus my people knew how to flow with nature's rhythm, dance to its tune and harness its forces for their good. They knew about using and using up. They knew that rest is the beginning of restoration, that it brings healing.

How can one stand under the heavens one night, look up at the sky, point out one star and say: 'That star is mine!'? My people would have thought anyone mad who suddenly pronounced themselves sole owner of such and such a mountain, valley, river or any other piece of the earth.

They had not learnt the greed that brings fences with it. When, later, the newcomers cut up the land, cut it up until it bled, the stakes driven hard into its very heart, the barbed wire strangling

it of breath, my people found themselves lessened, reduced. They were fenced in. They could no longer heal the land.

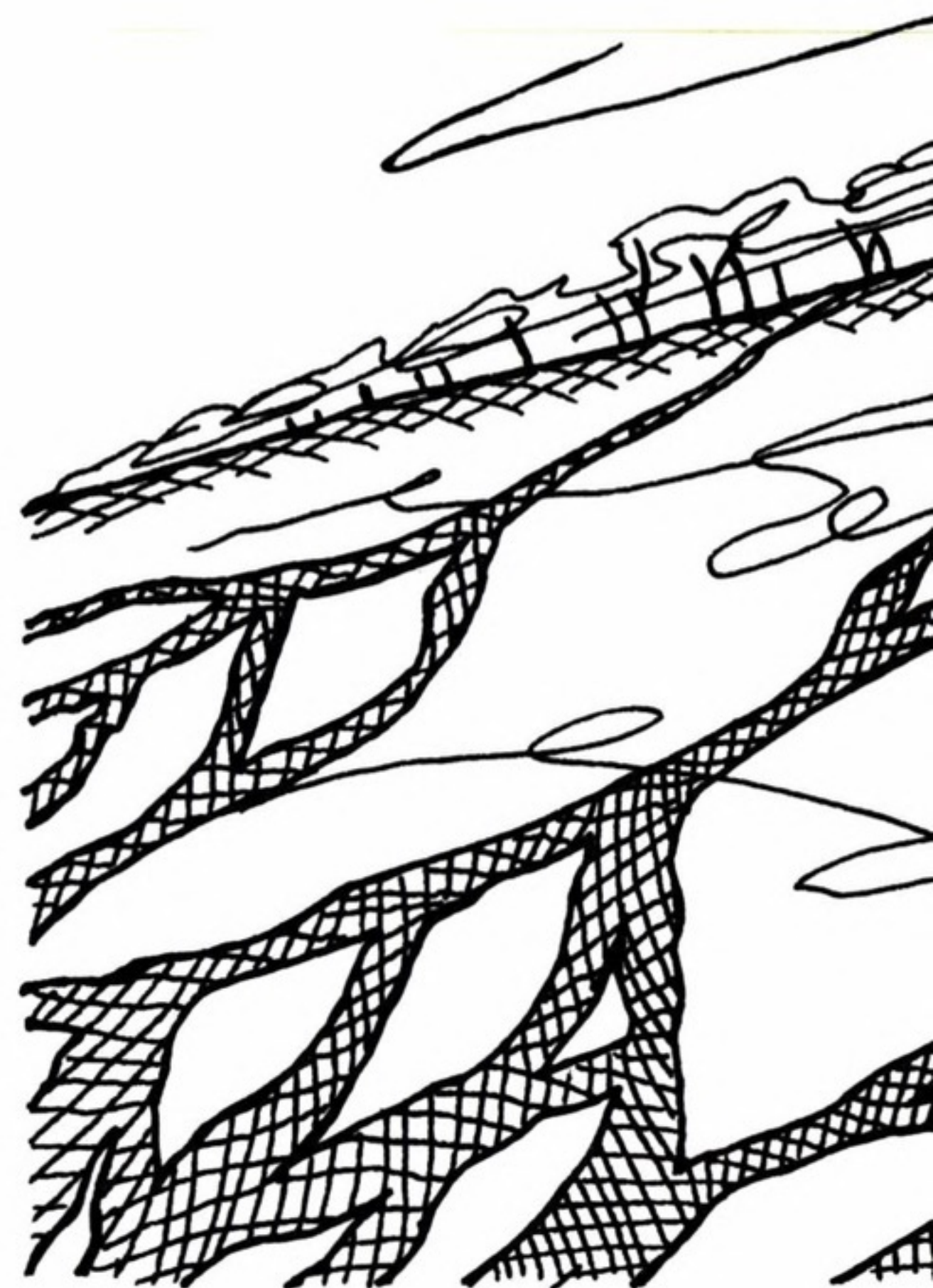
The strangers had come with new laws to the land they had 'discovered'. They imposed these laws on the people they found there and made sure they themselves were not bound by them. They were exclusively for my people. Makhulu used to say to me: 'Grandchild of mine, a person has a definite nature, and if something is good you can be sure they will keep it for themselves.'

My people could no longer heal the land. They could not restore it when it was exhausted. The law forbade them to move pasture. A person's place of dwelling became their place of dying. We lost freedom of movement – the land lost the right to rest and restoration.

Fenced in. Forced to till exhausted land, we could not feed ourselves. But, you see, even that was no accident. The no-colour people had planned it all. They did nothing without planning it through and through – years in advance.

To feed his children, to feed his wife and his aged parents, a man was forced to go to the ones with eyes that have colour. And beg them to use his strength as they would use a horse. For that they would give him the shiny buttons without holes they had brought with them. This had become the only thing of value. It was hard to come by it. The scrubbed ones made sure they kept it under lock and key all the time. And never gave my people enough to get the things it was supposed to give them: food, clothing, medicine, anything. You could be dying, but without this button *umlungu*, the ones without colour, would not give you medicine.

Umlungu's law said we could not dig for roots: it said we could not gather healing herbs. 'Miserly is the white man, indeed. He withholds ochre which he, himself, does not use. *Uyabandeza umlungu. Ude abandeze imbola engayiqabi*,' exclaimed my people, flabbergasted. For this kind of stinginess was new to them.



Ochre is the red powder with which we adorned ourselves. Now it was illegal to dig the ground for it. Resistance was strong, there were infringements galore. But by the time my own mother was a young woman ochre had already become a thing of the past.

Umlungu had an even better way of weaning us from our ways. Backward. Heathen. Things of the dark. Those are some of the labels he gave all things essentially us. The things that defined our uniqueness. In time we learnt to hate them ourselves. To scorn those who adhered to them, who refused to 'go with the times', those we saw as hesitant 'to enter the world of electricity, the world of light'.

Instead of ochre and herbs, roots and other powders we started using *umlungu's* creams. They promised us 'eternal youthfulness, glowing, wrinkle-free skin'. We didn't stop to think that our skin was already free of wrinkles, well into grand old age. We were being civilized. And happily did we stretch out our necks for the yoke.

Umlungu's ways have an essential ingredient called Progress. Where Mama started with Metamorphosa, graduated to Karroo Freckle and Complexion Cream and Bu-tone Cream for a Lovelier



Complexion, now, in her nineties, she is on Oil of Ulay, that bona fide fountain of youth.

But Mama is far, far luckier than I am.

I am a true product of *umlungu's* enlightenment. My face never was touched by such crudity as ochre or any of those things rural women – whom, basking in our new-found sophistication, we called backward – used on their faces. I started on Pond's Face Cream as a pre-teen. I was into Karroo Freckle and Complexion Cream by my adolescence. And in my early twenties, like millions of African women my age, I was breaking new ground. By this time, Progress had brought black people an elixir. Skin Lightening Creams.

And *umlungu* said he was doing what he was doing for our own good. He couldn't understand our gross stupidity. He had a duty to stop us from doing harm to ourselves. The yawning *dongas*¹ crisscrossing the land told *umlungu* it was the women digging for their cosmetics that were to blame; it was our large herds of cattle, the women gathering firewood. So said the *dongas* to *umlungu*.

But, to my people, the bleeding soil sang a different song; a song of mourning. And, in the manner of our tradition,

my people passed the history on:

'These white people and their fences! They have killed the land.'

'They came with no cattle. But today we are the ones without cattle, while they boast ever-swelling herds.'

'Our land has been stolen. We live in fenced-in toy plots. Look at their farms! You can ride across them for a whole day without reaching the other side.'

With hearts more sorrow-filled with each dying day, my people watched their cattle getting thinner, their herds dwindle – and the youth of the nation die in rock falls in the mines of the colourless ones, who made them dig for gold they would never own.

'The land died with the coming of the *umlungu*,' said my people. And the mothers wailed: 'We lose our sons in mines of greed, mines our eyes have never seen, for gold we never touch.'

Young women, their husbands away too long, swallowed by the mines, fretted: 'Do not forget me, my love, in the land of gold. Do not forget me, beloved. My heart, daily, yearns for you.' We became part-time parents to our children.

The fences built for the colourless ones were not yet finished. There was more to come. *Umlungu* didn't care

about the problems he made for my people. What did it matter that a mother, for lack of firewood, could not cook for her children? *Umlungu* had a bigger problem: deforestation.

We had no experience of hoarding, of planning scarcity when there was enough. We had not learnt that one person might exact a price from another. We gave freely what God had already given.

Umlungu said he was not starving us. We could always buy firewood. Go to the shop and use the button without holes, he said. His brother who owned the shop wanted plenty of that button. But the button didn't like my people at all. It took one look, made a sharp U-turn and went right back whence it came. The coloured-eyed people hoarded it all. And the gold. And the land. To own. While we still wondered: how can a person claim a star as a personal possession?

Our fathers and our brothers, they toiled hard for that button without a hole. They suffered insults, broke their bodies and lost their lives. The button remained unmoved by our sacrifice. It was of one mind with those who had brought it. It would never change allegiance.

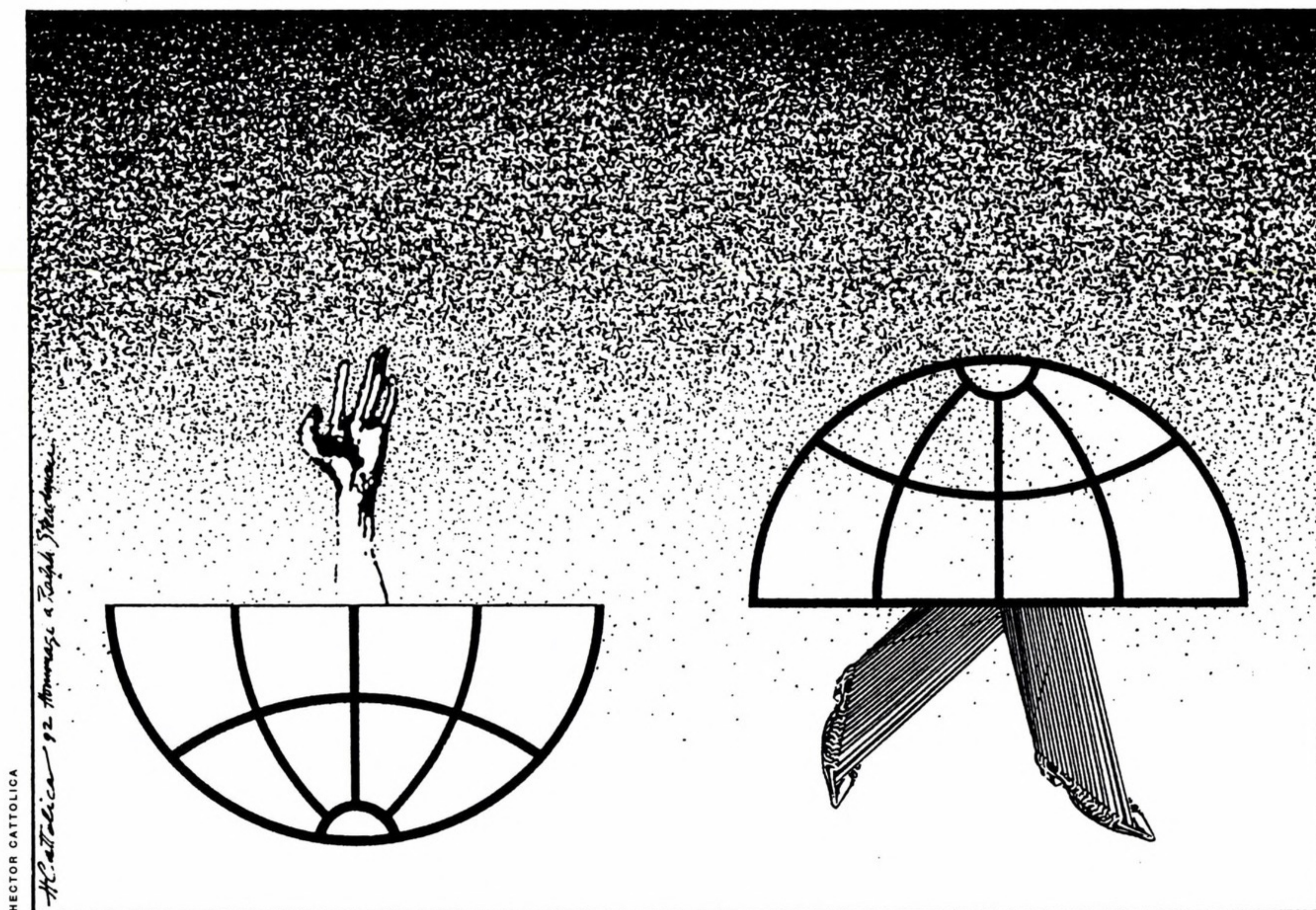
Poor as we were – my generation of women – we used a lot of buttons without holes buying the creams that bleached our skin. We listened to *umlungu's* promises of a better life. If only we could rid ourselves of our colour, scour it off, like some dirty foreign matter. How we pursued the dream! At last we would be like them, the people who had brought us all these things of light. How we 'chased' the mirage: Ambi Skin Lightening Cream, Super Rose, Clear Tone, Astra... and others too many to list here.

Like the fences on the land the creams made *umlungu* plenty, plenty of buttons without holes... and killed our skin. Just like the fences had killed the land. Today thousands of us walk around with ugly, dark blotches on our faces, a disfigurement. The land has the scarring *dongas* and we have these hideous marks.

We have no name for this disease in my language, or in any of the indigenous languages of the land. 'Chloasma' *umlungu* calls that which sits on our faces like fungus on a plant. Chloasma. And he has a cure for it. If you can give him many, many... buttons without a hole.

Sindiwe Magona is a South African writer and broadcaster. She has written *To My Children's Children* (The Women's Press, 1991) and is currently working on a book of short stories.

¹ steep-sided gullies created by soil erosion



The fridge, the greenhouse and the carbon sink

Anil Agarwal and Sunita Narain take a swipe at environmental imperialism and make some radical proposals for change.

THE dream of every Chinese to own a refrigerator has become the nightmare of every Northern environmentalist. The fear is that the potential for increased consumption – and therefore pollution – in the South is now the biggest threat facing the world's environment. And so hysteria has built up in the North about even the minuscule resources the South is currently using.

Much less effort has been made in the North to look at things as they actually are in the South. To do that you have to separate out, for example, 'survival emissions' of pollutants by the poor from 'luxury emissions' by the rich.

Can we really equate the gas-guzzling, air-polluting automobiles in Europe and

North America – or, for that matter, anywhere in the Third World – with the harmful methane emissions of flatulent cattle and the fermenting rice fields of subsistence farmers in West Bengal or Thailand? Do these people not have a right to live? Just what kind of politics or morality is it, masquerading in the name of 'one worldism' and 'high-minded internationalism', that fails to make such crucial distinctions?

Nature serves two major economic functions – as a source of raw materials and as a sink for absorbing wastes. Sustainable development demands that we do not produce more carbon dioxide and methane than the earth's environment can absorb.

The question is, how should this global

common – the global carbon dioxide and methane 'sinks' – be shared out? In a world that aspires to such lofty ideals as global justice, equity and sustainability, this vital global common must surely be shared equally, on a per capita basis.

Our calculations clearly show that there is one set of nations in the South that is emitting greenhouse gases well within its share, and another set in the North which is exceeding its limits by leaps and bounds (see box).

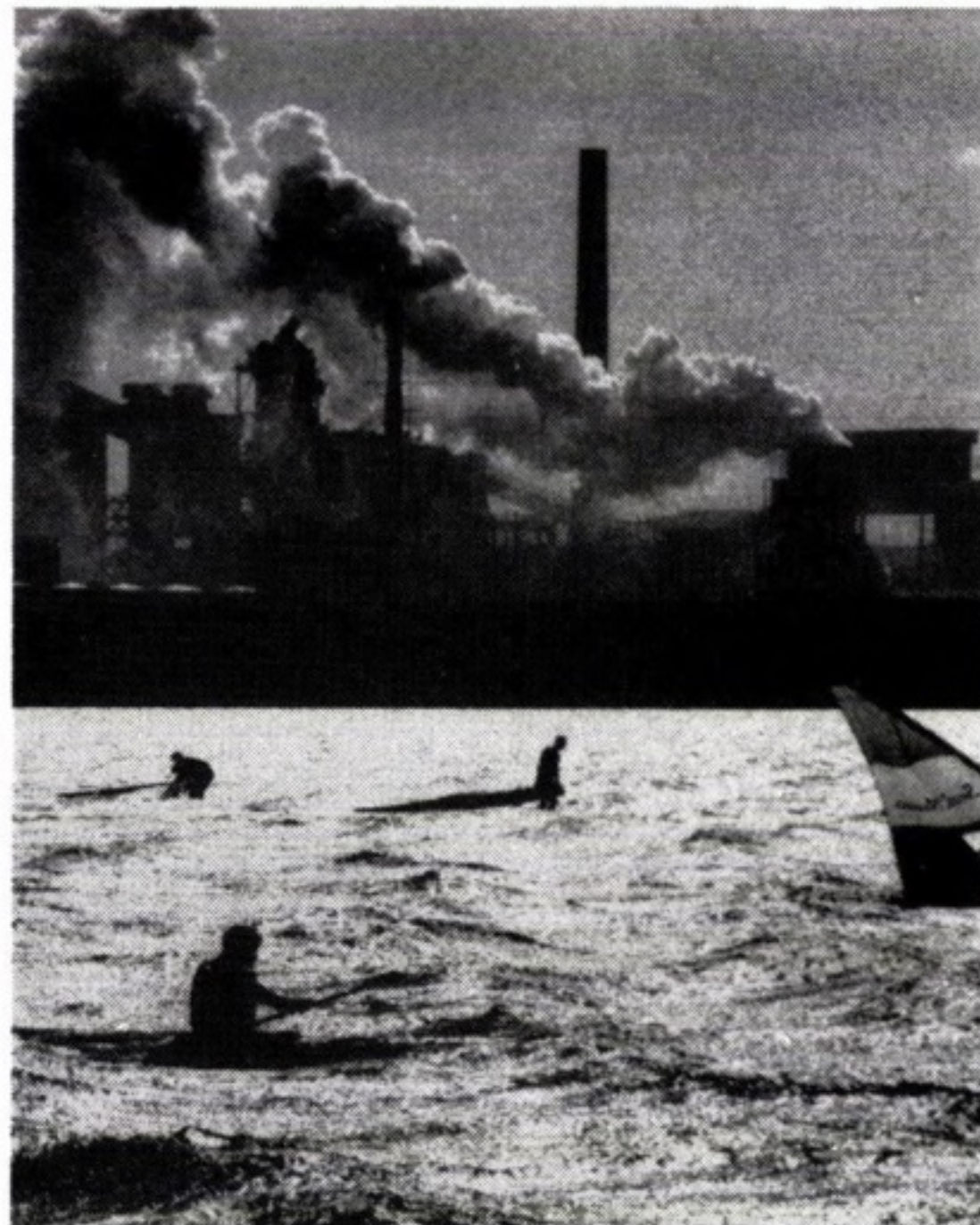
Pollution control economists are now talking about the concept of 'tradable emission quotas'. Total quotas should equal the world's natural sinks. Unused permissible emissions could then be sold to high-level greenhouse gas producers at a fixed rate.

All over the world there is growing consciousness of 'Green Economics' and the need to incorporate the ecological costs of production into national income and wealth accounts.

But what is the point of doing this in a developing country if the rich and powerful consumers of the world are not prepared to pay the true costs of their consumption? That is not simply an economic issue but an intensely political one.

The same Western politicians who talk so glibly about an interdependent world show no interest at all in the travails of the Third World. For many of them international environmental issues are an easy way to divert attention away from domestic environmental issues.

Given the East-West detente and the growing power of the global market system, Third World politicians cannot afford to negotiate badly, cheaply or in ignorance, forsaking the interests of future generations for some Meryl Streep-like mushy environ-



mentalism beamed by satellite into Indian homes in the name of education.

The Third World has to propose an agenda of its own – to present its own con-

cept of a sustainable future, to win the support, the hearts and minds of green youth across the world, in the Third World as well as the West.

The Western media will fête any Third World politician who speaks on environmental issues as Westerners do and accepts their brand of high-sounding but as yet hypocritical 'one worldism'. There will be TV appearances, newspaper interviews, invitations to conferences, Western-style money, fame and fortune across the globe. It is easy enough to sell out the interests of future generations in the glib name of global environmentalism and global charity. For the poor it will remain a harsh and vicious world which is not prepared to give them a fair place.

Anil Agarwal is director of the Centre for Science and Environment, New Delhi, where Sunita Narain also works. They are co-authors of *Global Warming in an Unequal World: a Case of Environmental Colonialism*, Centre for Science and Environment, New Delhi, India.

STUART FRANKLIN / MAGNUM

Saints & sinners

How to work it out

Every year the world pumps about 31,100 million tonnes of carbon and 255 million tonnes of methane into the atmosphere. The earth's ecological system – its vegetation and its oceans – absorbs just over half the carbon and four fifths of the methane produced. Global warming is caused by overloading the cleaning ability of this system.

Some countries are doing a lot more damage than others – and it is the whole world that will suffer. But environmentalists from the South have come up with a scheme – called 'tradable emissions' – which could inject some justice into this scenario. This is how it would work:

- Each country prepares a budget of greenhouse gas emissions to set against the size of its population and its carbon 'sinks', like vegetation and soil, and the earth's total cleaning capacity.

- Each country's fair share of the oceanic and atmospheric sinks – a common heritage of human-kind – is calculated.

- Each country's permissible emissions are worked out.

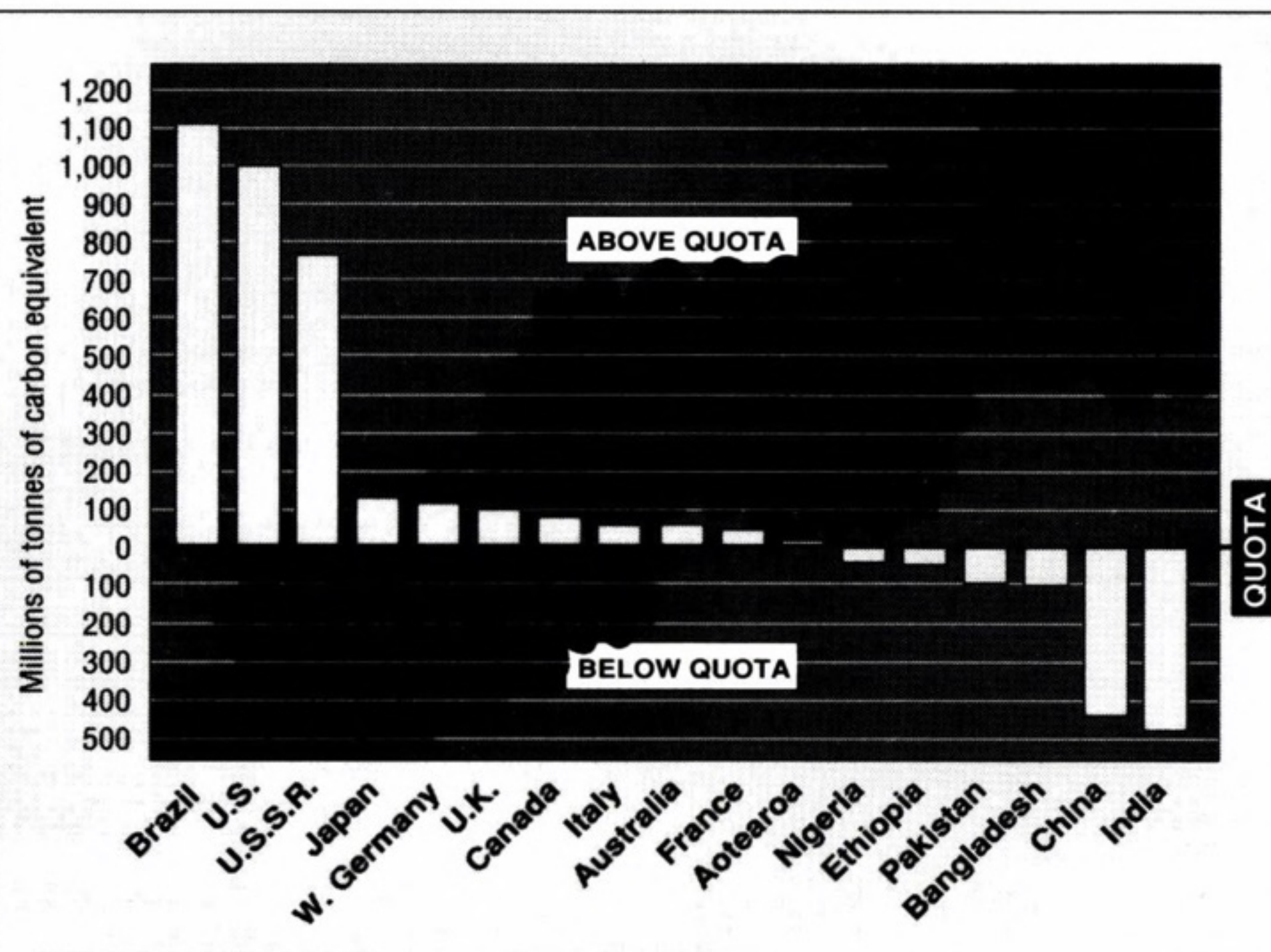
- Compensation is paid by those who are over the permitted level to those who are under it.

In 1990 India, for example, had 16.2 per cent of the world's population but contributed just 6.0 per cent of the carbon dioxide and 14.4 per cent of the methane absorbed by the earth's ecological system. By contrast, the US with only 4.73 per cent of the world's population emitted as much as 26 per cent of the carbon dioxide and 20 per cent of the methane.

If the 'tradable emissions' scheme were in place with over-producers paying \$15 per 1,000 tonnes of excess, the US would have had to pay \$6.3 billion and India would have received \$8.3 billion. India could have funded almost its entire education programme for one year with this money. Twenty developing countries would receive about \$30 billion.

Industrialized countries together exceed their limit by 2,839 million tonnes of carbon equivalent. These countries also emit large quantities of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), which do not get absorbed at all because there is no natural sink for them – the US alone produces 25.8 per cent of the world's CFCs. All such chemicals should be added to the net emissions of individual countries. Developing countries provide space for about 1,459 million tonnes of carbon to be released by developed countries: India, China and Pakistan alone provide two thirds of this space.

The carbon league



This chart shows you which countries are producing more than their fair share of carbon emissions ('sinners'), which less ('saints') – and by how much.

Brazil comes out worst because of its unique combination of deforestation (reducing the size of its carbon sink), forest burning (increasing its carbon emissions) and heavy industrial pollution. Otherwise, all the worst sinners are Northern industrial countries.

Source: Anil Agarwal and Sunita Narain *Global Warming in an Unequal World*, Centre for Science and Environment, New Delhi, 1991

My Collection

I remember mother washing mulberries before they went off,
first thing in the morning, to send to the neighbours. Or washing
our clothes in a bucket, whites, then coloureds, then socks
until the soap turned to slime. I remember her
dressing up food from previous meals and saving scraps
for passing strays who might linger to guard our house by night.
Upon our travels we carried little bags of tea, sugar, rice,
to save on bills and returned with whatever was going cheap.
She had me convinced my brother's trousers were fashionable
a year after he'd outgrown them. In summer she'd unravel jerseys
and begin to reknit. My father encouraged such thrift
as people who earn in cash do and mother knew there
was no recovering what was laid to waste.
So she gathered, pickled, stewed, cut lights
from old boxes, strewed her flower beds with
fish scales and egg shells and sacrificed
her siesta to shoo parrots from our mango tree.
Once she even made her own shampoo but that
didn't quite work.

I remember her saving insect-ridden flour, spreading
it out in the noonday blaze, until all that crawled
had crawled away. Old sheets turned
into shoe cloths and dusters, and 'good, strong
plastic bags' were saviours of her ripening fruit.
As children we didn't think the secret of her prodigious hands
was in a thousand things she'd transformed or stored away.
We took what she had to give and she didn't stint.

I speak with her monthly on the telephone now –
Am I wearing a vest, do I eat sensibly, then
she puts it down, thinking of the money I spend.

You needn't worry, mother.
Everything is saved. Nothing
is thrown away.

Dinyar Godrej



SEBASTIÃO SALGADO / MAGNUM

Southern embraces

'There is just one place where yesterday and today meet, recognize each other and embrace, and that place is tomorrow.' The world – both gentle and brutal – according to **Eduardo Galeano**.

ALIENATION

Alastair Reid writes for the *New Yorker* but rarely goes to New York.

He prefers to live on a remote beach in the Dominican Republic. Christopher Columbus landed on this beach several centuries ago on one of his excursions to Japan, and nothing has changed since.

From time to time, the postman appears among the trees. The postman arrives staggering under his load. Alastair receives mountains of correspondence.

From the US he is bombarded with commercial offers, leaflets, catalogues, luxurious temptations from the consumer civilization that exhorts him to buy.

On one occasion he found in the mass of paper an advertisement for a rowing machine. Alastair showed it to his neighbours, the fisherpeople.

'Indoors? They use it indoors?'

The fisherpeople couldn't believe it:

'Without water? They row without water?'

They couldn't comprehend it:

'And without fish? And without the sun? And without the sky?'

The fisherpeople told Alastair that they got up every night long before dawn and put out to sea and cast their nets as the sun rose over the horizon, and that this was their life and that this life pleased them, but that rowing was the one infernal aspect of the whole business.

'Rowing is the one thing we hate,' said the fishermen.

Then Alastair explained to them that the rowing machine was for exercise.

'For what?'

'Exercise.'

'Ah. And exercise – what's that?'

PROFESSIONAL LIFE

The big bankers of the world, who practise the terrorism of money, are more powerful than kings and field marshals, even more than the Pope of Rome himself. They never dirty their hands. They kill no-one: they limit themselves to applauding the show.



MARK EDWARDS / STILL PICTURES

Their officials, international technocrats, rule our countries: they are neither presidents nor ministers, they have not been elected, but they decide the level of salaries and public expenditure, investments and divestments, prices, taxes, interest rates, subsidies, when the sun rises and how frequently it rains.

However, they don't concern themselves with the prisons or torture chambers or concentration camps or extermination centers, although these house the inevitable consequences of their acts.

The technocrats claim the privilege of irresponsibility: 'We're neutral,' they say.

THE NOBODIES

Fleas dream of buying themselves a dog, and nobodies dream of escaping poverty: that, one magical day, good luck will suddenly rain down on them – will rain down in buckets. But good luck doesn't rain down, yesterday, today, tomorrow or ever. Good luck doesn't even fall in a fine drizzle, no matter how hard the nobodies summon it, even if their left hand is tickling, or if they begin the new day on their right foot, or start the new year with a change of brooms.

The nobodies: nobody's children, owners of nothing. The nobodies: the no-ones, the nobodied, running like rabbits, dying through life, screwed every which way.

Who are not, but could be.

Who don't speak languages, but dialects.

Who don't have religions, but superstitions.

Who don't create art, but handicrafts.

Who don't have culture, but folklore.

Who are not human beings, but human resources.

Who do not have faces, but arms.

Who do not have names, but numbers.

Who do not appear in the history of the world, but in the crime reports of the local paper.

The nobodies, who are not worth the bullet that kills them.

MAPAMUNDI 1

The system:

It steals with one hand what it lends with the other.

Its victims:

The more they pay, the more they owe.

The more they get, the less they have.

The more they sell, the less they earn.

MAPAMUNDI 2

To the South, repression. To the North, depression.

More than a few Northern intellectuals marry southern revolutions for the sheer pleasure of becoming widowers. They ostentatiously weep buckets, oceans of tears over the death of each illusion, and they never stop learning enough to discover that socialism is the longest road from capitalism to capitalism.

It is fashionable in the North, throughout the world, to celebrate neutral art and applaud the snake that bites its tail and finds it tasty. Culture and politics have become consumer goods. Presidents are chosen on television like soap, and poets perform a decorative function. The only magic is that of the market, and bankers are the only heroes.

Democracy is a Northern luxury. The South is permitted its show, which is denied to nobody. And in the final analysis, it doesn't bother anyone very much that politics be democratic so long as the economy is not. When the curtain falls, once the votes

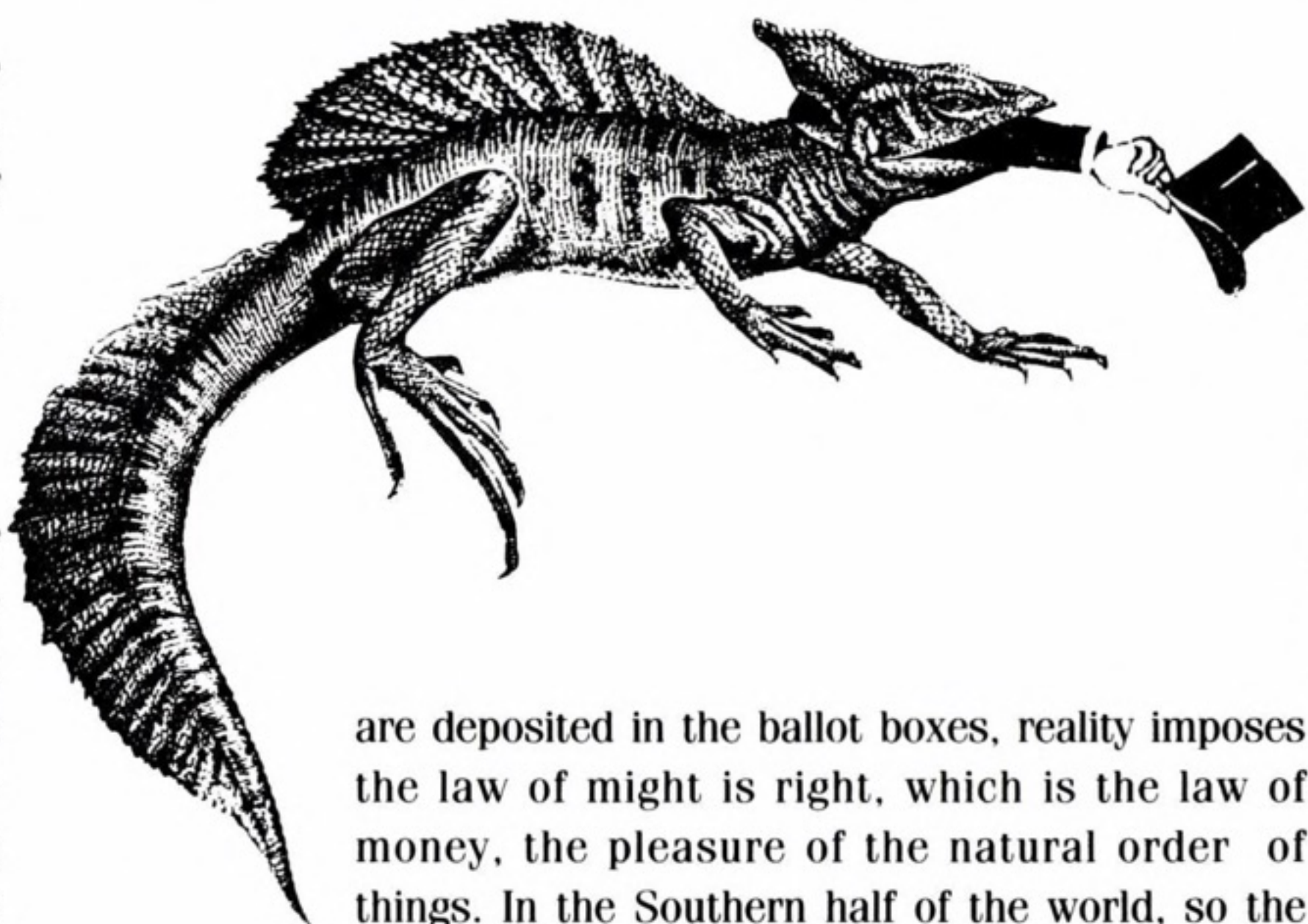


ILLUSTRATION: EDUARDO GALEANO

are deposited in the ballot boxes, reality imposes the law of might is right, which is the law of money, the pleasure of the natural order of things. In the Southern half of the world, so the system teaches, violence and hunger belong not to history but to nature, and justice and liberty have been condemned to mutual hatred.

THE SYSTEM

Functionaries don't function.

Politicians speak but say nothing.

Voters vote but don't elect.

The information media disinform.

Schools teach ignorance.

Judges punish the victims.

The military makes war against its own compatriots.

The police don't fight crime because they are too busy committing it.

Bankruptcies are socialized while profits are privatized.

Money is freer than people are.

People are at the service of things.

THE KINGDOM OF THE COCKROACH

When I visited Cedric Belfrage in Cuernavaca, Los Angeles contained 16 million personmobiles, people with wheels instead of legs, so it did not much resemble the city he had known when he arrived in Hollywood during the silent film era, nor did it resemble the city Cedric still loved when Senator McCarthy expelled him during the witch hunts.

Since his expulsion, Cedric has lived in Cuernavaca. Certain friends, survivors of the old days, turn up from time to time at his roomy and luminous house; and also, from time to time, comes a mysterious white butterfly that drinks tequila.

I was coming from Los Angeles and had been in the area where Cedric had lived, but he did not ask me about Los Angeles. Los Angeles did not interest him, or he acted as if it didn't. Instead, he asked me about my time in Canada and we got to talking about acid rain. The poisonous gases from the factories, which the clouds returned to earth, had already exterminated 14,000 lakes in Canada. Those 14,000 lakes no longer sustained any life: nei-



MARK EDWARDS / STILL PICTURES

ther plants nor fish. I had had a glimpse of that catastrophe.

Old Cedric looked at me with his big, clear eyes and feigned observances to those soon to reign over the earth:

'We human beings have abdicated the planet,' he proclaimed, 'in favour of the cockroaches.'

Then he took the bottle and filled our glasses:

'A spot more while we may.'



SEBASTIÃO SALGADO / MAGNUM

CONSUMER CIVILIZATION

Sometimes, at the end of the summer when the tourists left Calella, you could hear howls coming from the forest. They were the cries of dogs tethered to the trees.

The tourists used the dogs to relieve their loneliness during their vacation, and then, when the time came to leave, tied them up deep in the woods to keep them from following.

TRADITIONS OF THE FUTURE

There is just one place where yesterday and today meet, recognize each other and embrace, and that place is tomorrow.

Certain voices from the American past, long past, sound very futuristic. For example, the ancient voice that still tells us we are children of the earth. While dead birds rain on Mexico City and rivers are turned into sewers, oceans into dumps and forests into deserts, this voice, stubbornly refusing to die, heralds another world different from this one that poisons the water, soil, air and soul.

The ancient voice that speaks to us of community heralds another world as well. Community – the communal mode of production and life – is the oldest of American traditions, the most American of all. It belongs to the earliest days and the first people, but it also belongs to the times ahead and anticipates a new New World. For there is nothing less alien to these lands of ours than socialism. Capitalism, on the other hand, is foreign: like smallpox, like the flu, it came from abroad. ■



Eduardo Galeano, the Uruguayan writer, lived in exile in Spain for several years and now works and travels from Montevideo once more; his books include *The Open Veins of Latin America* and the historical trilogy *Memory of Fire*. *The Book of Embraces* is his most recent work. From: *THE BOOK OF EMBRACES*, translated by Cedric Belfrage, Copyright © 1989 by Eduardo Galeano; Copyright © 1991 by Cedric Belfrage. Published by W W Norton & Company, Inc., New York 1991. Originally published in Spanish as *EL LIBRO DE LOS ABRAZOS* by Siglo Veintiuno. Reprinted by permission of Susan Bergholz Literary Services, New York.



HANS UNODT / SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL



P. H. BODY / SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL

Above right: Causeway to catastrophe: the Narmada Dam project displaces millions of people – for an economic return of zero. Left: activist Medha Patkar.

Armada against Narmada

*India's Narmada dam project is the most grotesque example of World Bank monomania. But women like **Medha Patkar** are helping to build a formidable wall of human opposition.*

FOR the last seven years a fight has been going on in the Narmada valley and it is now quite clear that the valley is being led towards destruction – not just of its environment but also of its human communities.

This particular valley, which has bountiful forest and water resources, has been the life support system for the tribal communities who live there for generations. Now it has become the focus of attention for those who want to exploit these resources in the name of development.

For them, development means meeting demand. And demand comes from those who have the purchasing power and the political power to express it. If water in the

Narmada region is to be harnessed to hydropower then this is justified on the basis of the demand for energy. But who ultimately is going to benefit from hydropower? This question is never frankly and promptly answered. No-one is encouraged to ask it. The whole atmosphere, in developing countries also, is dominated by the Western-oriented development pattern and the interests of elites – bureaucrats, politicians, contractors and their like.

We realized the first thing to be done was to establish the rights of the directly affected people. These include the tribal people belonging to highly-integrated, non-consumerist communities living right up in the mountain ranges, with no roads, no

shop, no school, no post office, no whatever you call an indicator of modern development.

Nonetheless they are rich in other ways. They are integrated. They know how to manage their lives with happiness and within the available resources. And they also have a more or less sustainable way of handling natural capital resources. They have three 'lenders' at their disposal; the land, the forest and the river. Unlike the World Bank, these natural 'banks' come to their help when they need them, in one season one, in another season another.

The communities in the plains are heterogeneous, not homogeneous like the tribal peoples, but they are culturally

established, full of not just tourist sights and monuments but a culture which revolves around the natural resources in the valley.

But the Government claimed the project was 'public purpose' and used the age-old Land Acquisition Act. The Act is irrelevant to this kind of large-scale displacement, large-scale social and environmental impact, which involves not just individuals but communities, civilizations within civilizations.

The tribal people said: 'Land is not created by you; land is created by God. It has been in our hands for generations. So today if you come to plunder what is capital not just for us but for generations to come we can't easily allow you to do that. If you come as intermediaries from the Almighty, kindly get a certificate from Him! Tell us what you want, bargain for it, and then we will have our own doubts.'

Now, there are no answers to these kinds of questions – even simple, logical, practical questions like: 'How could you start building the dam before even coming to ask us? How can you expect us to sacrifice everything that supports our way of life and our livelihood?' The whole framework of 'public purpose' projects and land acquisition was questioned.

The World Bank always sends the first reconnaissance mission to projects of this kind, so it gets legitimacy and credibility. No-one ever questions the details of the data used by the World Bank. In the case of Sardar Sarovar (Narmada) projects, four pages of risk analysis showed that the economic rate of return might come to zero, and so it has proved in practice. But the World Bank has no wish to face up to the consequences. The project becomes irreversible.

Development officials are cautious and like to boast of 'involvement' and 'participation'. But their words are empty. They create new structures and in the process invariably end up destroying or by-passing indigenous structures and values. Take the Social Forestry Programme of India, for example. The initial programme as proposed by the UN's Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) promised that the forests would meet the needs of the community, who would participate in forestry. Nothing like that has happened. The communities have become the daily wage earners for forester teams who are out to exploit tribal people. They do not have to worry about protests because once a project is funded, once it's supported from outside,

local support doesn't matter.

We're not saying that you can't interact with us. But you must interact with the community, with a full understanding of our rights, which have come to us through generations. You cannot come to us in the form of a collector, an administrator, a politician or whosoever and bestow upon us the rights and titles to our own land.

For if people accept this kind of thing they also will not mind destroying their own natural resources. Suppose a woman is cooking and she wants firewood for the stove to cook bread. Now, tribal houses are very spacious, full of wood, with wooden pillars, and each type of wooden pillar has a separate name. The woman who starts hunting for wood never touches the pillar by the hearth. She goes out and takes wood from the forest, which she does not think of as hers but the Government's. So she is not concerned for its future. There is no meaning in saying: 'But look! They had the forest and they destroyed it!' Technically speaking, in modern property terms, they never had it in the first place.

These matters have a twofold importance for aboriginal and indigenous peoples anywhere in the world. First because they are the ones facing the direct backlash of the development model. Second, they are not just preserving their own land, but demonstrating how a people-nature rela-

tionship, a human-human relationship which can be non-exploitative, is the basis of their life.

The real challenge of 'modernity' faces everyone. That challenge is not to fulfil a particular person's desires, or those of a small number of people. That is easy. The real challenge is not to have a water source in just one place because you can't find a way to tap it in the thousand different places that are needed. The real challenge is not to fund a single project costing hundreds of millions of dollars, but to develop participation as the focus at 500 or 500,000 different points. That is the challenge that needs to be faced if truly modern institutions are to be created. Otherwise *you* are the traditional ones – you are more traditional than we are.

There must be roots among the people. You cannot call these 'grass roots'. Grass roots are very superficial, you know. This kind of jargon is rhetorical and has no meaning for most people. I know European activists who have 'grass roots' all over the place which entitle them to participate in 20 different seminars. If you 'participate' by going from seminar to seminar, conference to conference, you cannot achieve anything. There is a kind of development agency network that is still clinging to islands of 'grass roots'.

That does not mean there should not be a support network. But what we really need is people to go out and reach the larger masses. Without that, you can talk of saving this or that but it has no meaning. You have to live the life of the people involved. When a dam is being constructed you have to be ready to face the rising water with them. Only if you can develop that faith in the communities do you have any moral right to say 'sacrifice your lives to save the valleys and the hills and the communities who live in them'.

Of course, if you are attacking powerful institutions you have to learn their terminology and dissect their methodology. But it is the voice of aboriginal peoples, with their questions which can't be answered, and reaching out to others as well, that really matters. And one of them once said to me: 'We should not have anything to do with paper. Otherwise we lose.'

Medha Patkar is a member of the *Narmada Bachao Andolan*, the opposition campaign to the Narmada Dam project. She has been on hunger strike and was arrested shortly before leaving India to receive a 1991 Right Livelihood Award (the 'Alternative Nobel Prize') on behalf of the campaign.

Over the barrel: dam building brings work to local people - but it will also flood their homes.



IN THE SOUTH:¹

LIVE THREE QUARTERS OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE

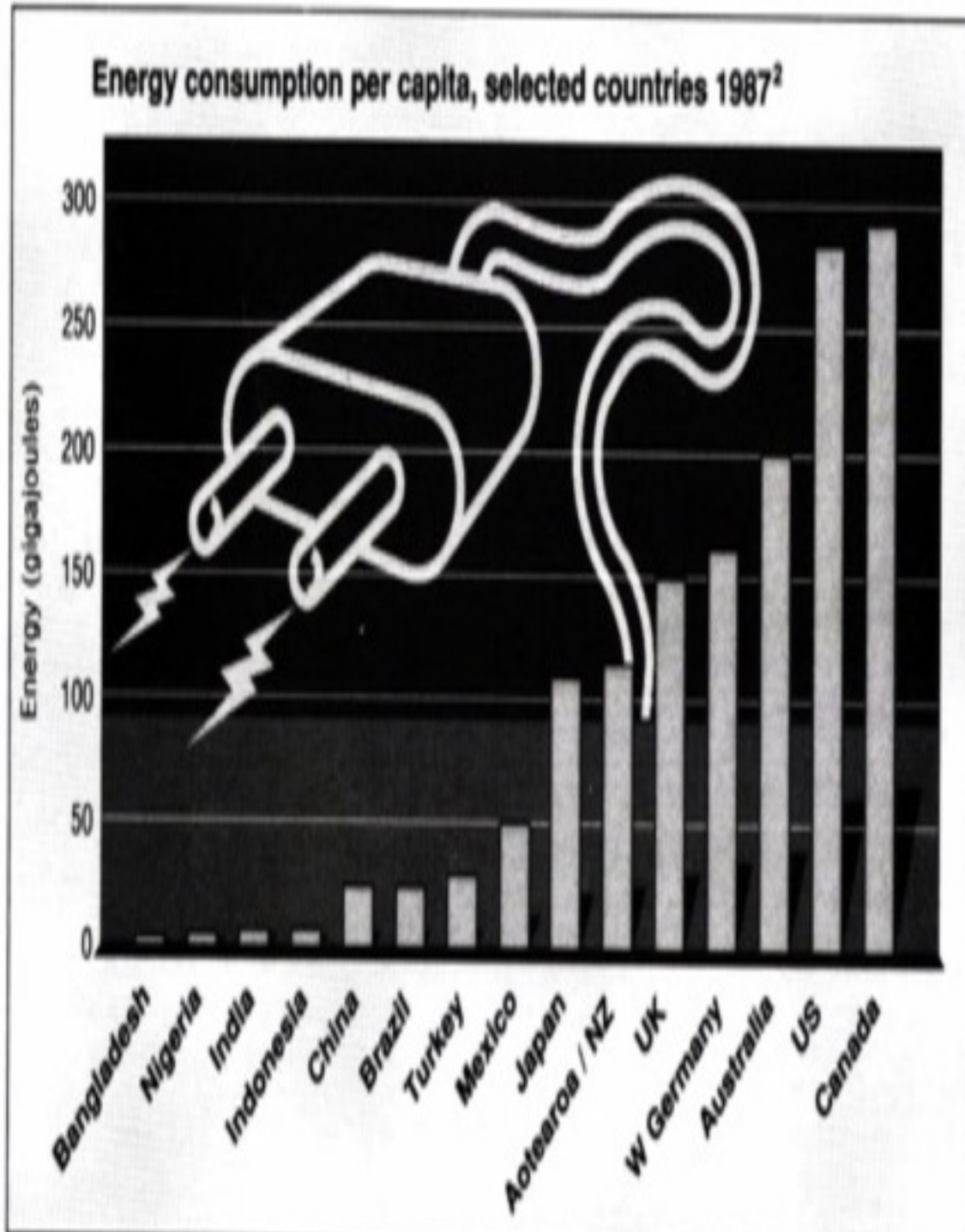
WHO CONSUME JUST ONE SIXTH OF THE WORLD'S RESOURCES

WITH AVERAGE INCOMES 18 TIMES LOWER THAN THOSE IN THE NORTH.

Throw-away energy

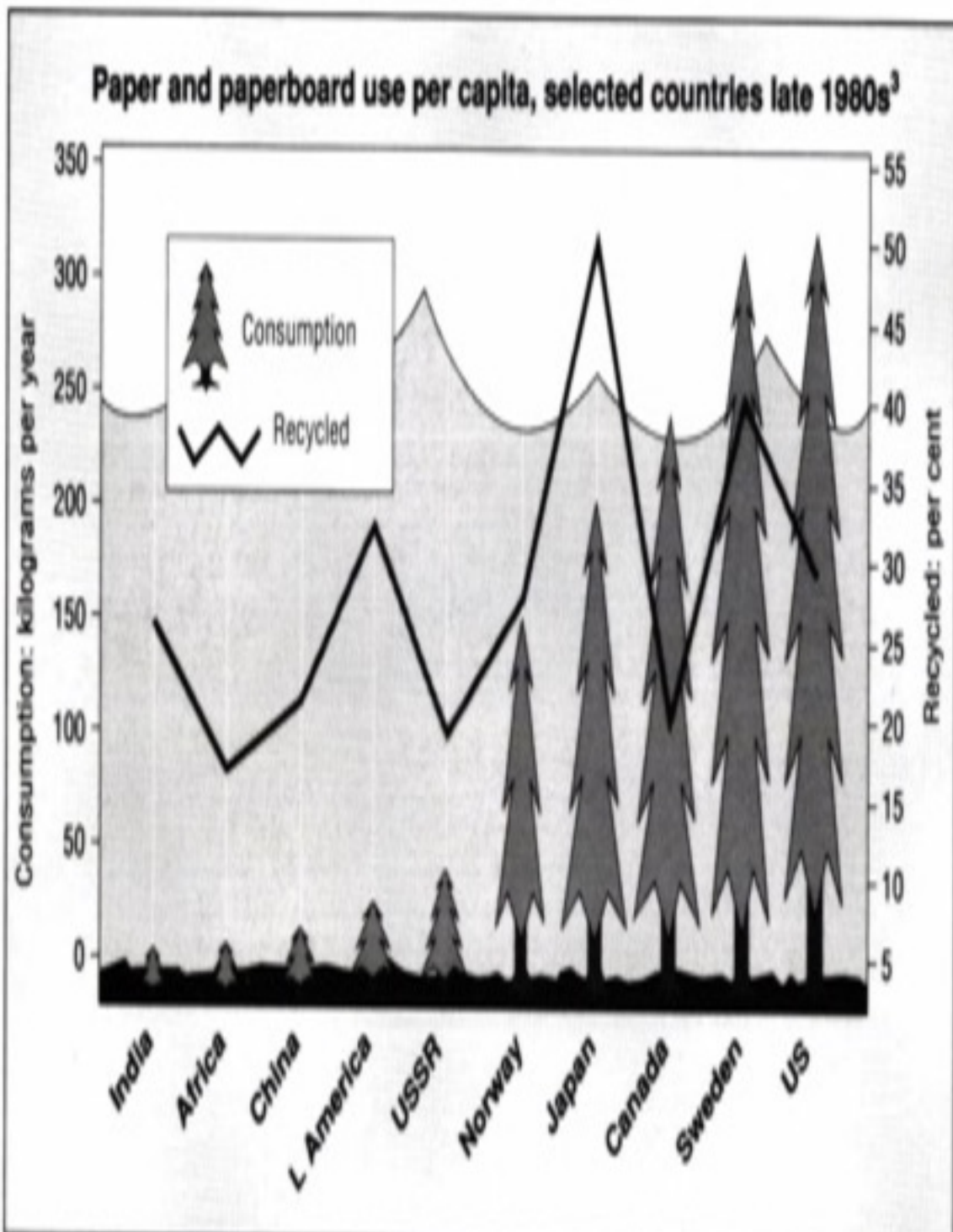
Australians and Bangladeshis both live in relatively warm climates, but Australians get through one hundred times more energy than Bangladeshis.

Western industrialized countries use roughly half the world's energy, while the Third World uses just one sixth.



Tree pulp

From diapers to doors, from wrapping to writing paper, the average Canadian gets through 100 times more trees than the average Indian – and recycles less.



THE EARTH DEVoured

Who is polluting the world and consuming its resources?

The New Internationalist tots up the environmental bill per head, North and South.



Unfair exchange

Between 1983 and 1989 a net total of \$1.41 billion was transferred from South to North, mostly in the form of repayments on debts.

Trade protectionism in the North costs the South an estimated \$100 billion a year in lost revenue from agricultural products and a further \$50 billion a year for textiles.⁴

About 125,000 tons of toxic waste are sent to the Third World from Europe each year, and this is likely to increase with attempts to clean up Eastern Europe.⁵

¹ Environment and Development: Towards a Common Strategy for the South in the UNCED Negotiations and Beyond, South Centre – the Follow-up Office of the South Commission, Geneva, 1991. ² World Resources 1990-91, World Resources Institute. ³ State of the World 1990, Worldwatch Institute. ⁴ Human Development Report 1991, UNDP. ⁵ 'Toxic waste for a small planet' by David Weir in Consumer Lifelines, IOCU, April 1989. ⁶ State of the World 1991, Worldwatch Institute. ⁷ US Department of Agriculture, 1989 figures. ⁸ Australian Board of Statistics 1989 figures. ⁹ New Zealand Meat Board 1989 figures. ¹⁰ Statistics Canada 1989 figures. ¹¹ UK Meat Livestock Commission 1990 figures.

IN THE NORTH:⁴

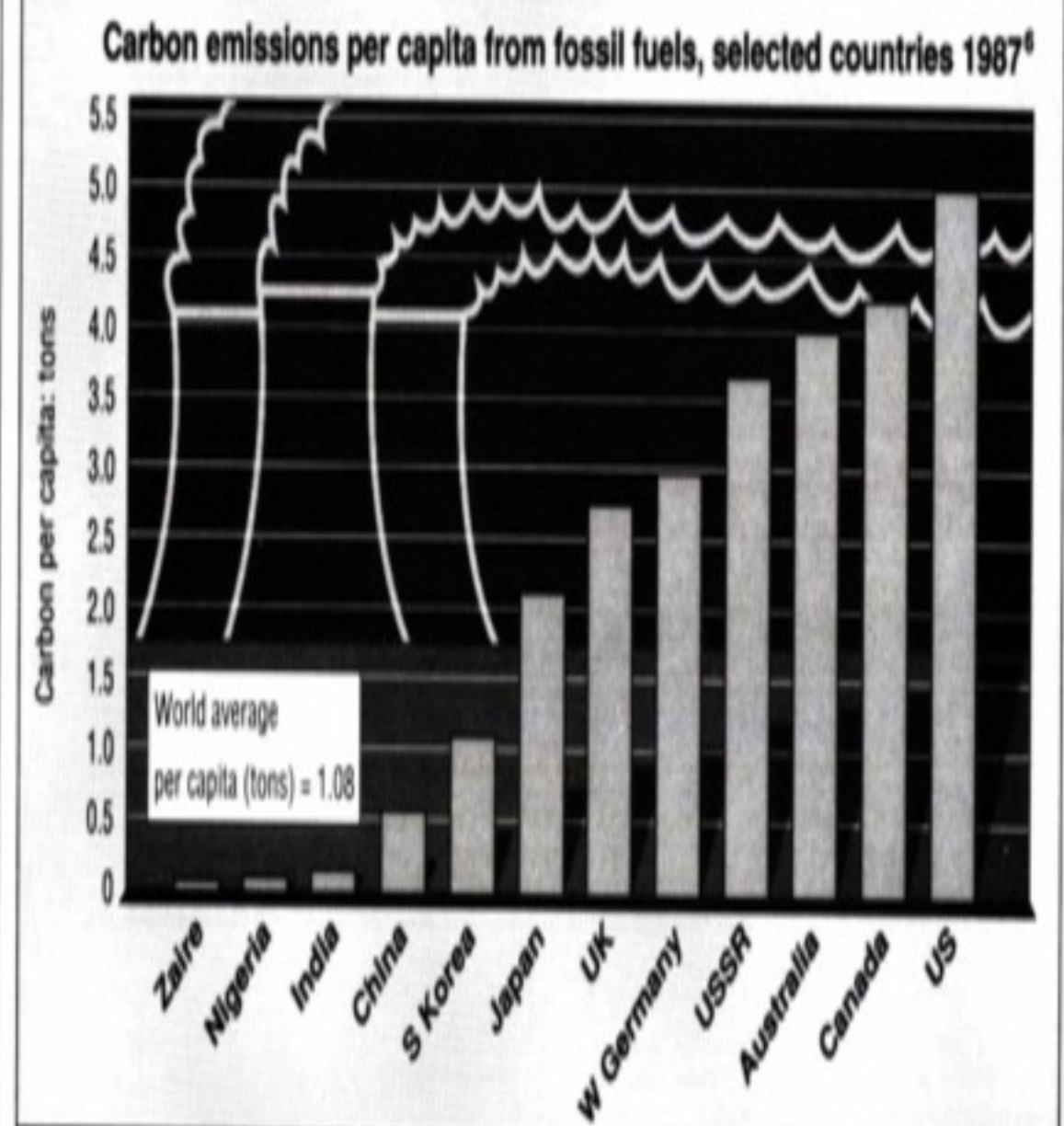
LIVE ONE QUARTER OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE

WHO PUMP OUT FOUR FIFTHS OF THE WORLD'S GREENHOUSE GASES

WITH FACTORIES, CARS, AIR CONDITIONERS AND AEROSOL SPRAYS THAT ALSO RELEASE ALMOST 90 PER CENT OF THE CFC GASES THAT DESTROY THE OZONE LAYER.

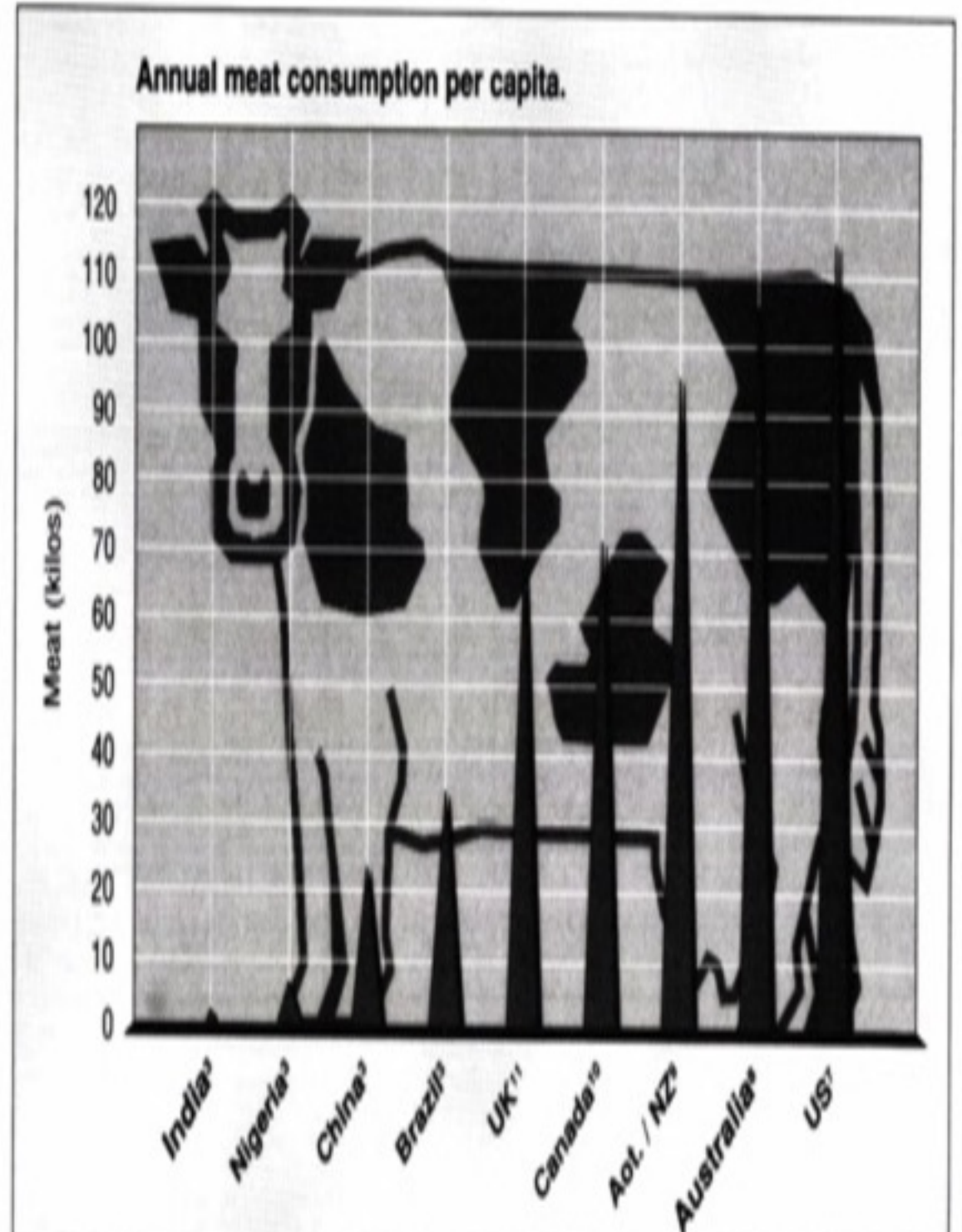
Greenhouse greed

The average US citizen produces 170 times more pollution from burning fossil fuels like oil and coal (which causes 'global warming') than the average citizen of Zaire.



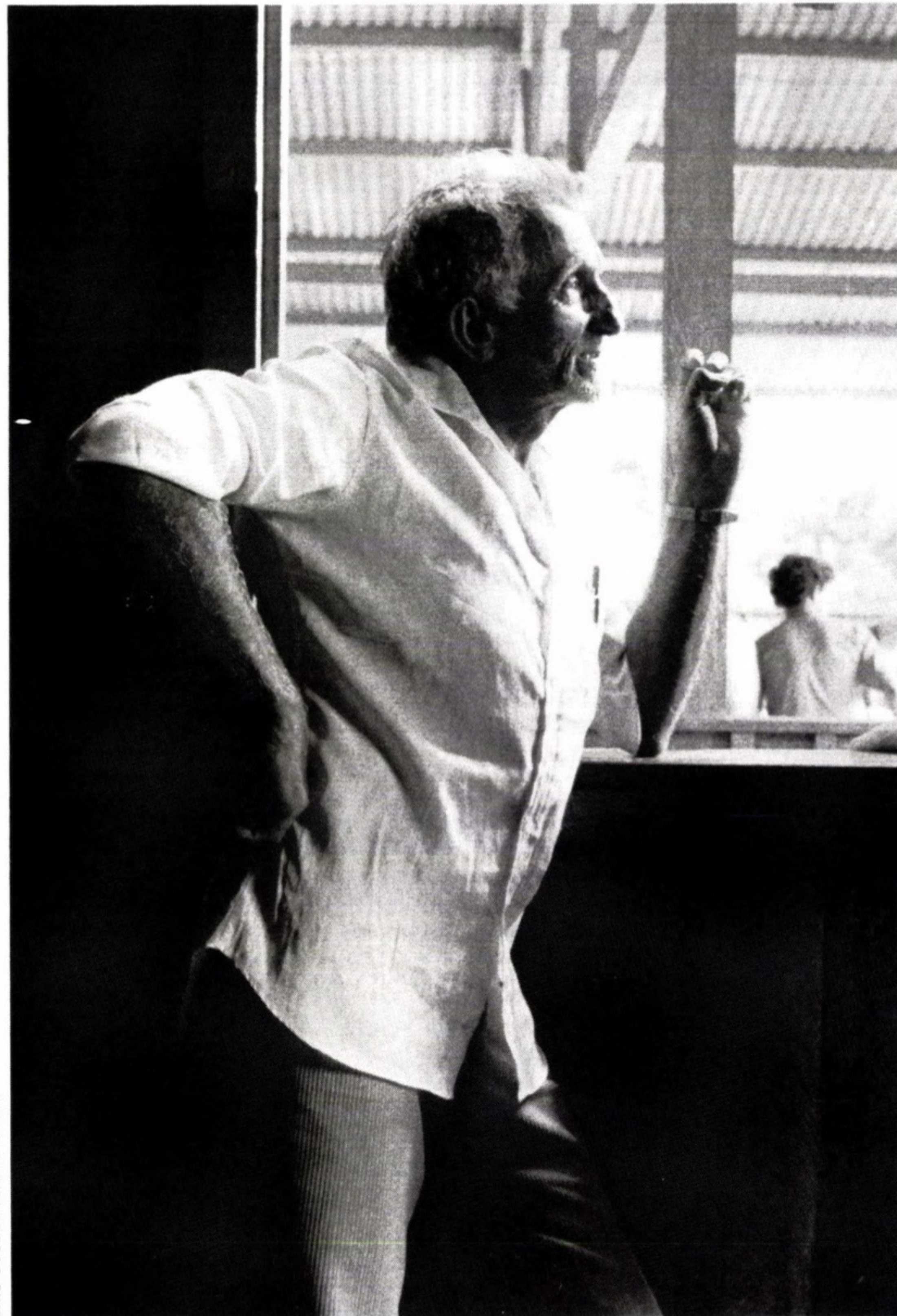
Animal fat

There are three rungs on the ladder of the world's food consumption; at the bottom, 630 million people do not have enough to eat; in the middle, 3.4 billion grain eaters get most of their protein from plants; at the top, 1.25 billion meat eaters consume three times as much animal fat per person as the remaining four billion – and use 40 per cent of the world's grain to fatten the livestock they eat.



Look here, gringo!

Alex Shankland gets a dose of real ecology from rubber tappers in the heart of the Amazon.



MIKE GOLDWATER/NETWORK

Senhor Antônio de Paula, forest-dweller and accountant to the rubber tappers. 'How could I leave my green paradise for your concrete hell?'

It is the hottest time of the day and the atmosphere is thick with the imminence of the afternoon rains. No sound comes from the wall of forest on the far side of the sluggish brown expanse of the River Juruá; the heaviness of the air muffles even the shrieks and splashes of children seeking relief from the heat in its tepid waters.

This is the time when everything stops in Amazonia and most people take to their hammocks to await the cooler late-afternoon breezes. But an intense murmur of discussion fills the meeting hall, and the groups huddled in the four corners of the

open-sided, tin-roofed shed show no sign of dispersing.

For the first time in the century since their parents and grandparents were brought by the Rubber Barons to this remote corner of Amazonia the *seringueiros* (rubber tappers) of the Upper Juruá Valley are to have a say in their own destiny. For the first time in its history the Brazilian Government is about to invest a group of forest dwellers with the power to run their own affairs.

The Upper Juruá 'Extractive Reserve' was the first such area to be formally estab-

lished after Chico Mendes, the murdered leader of the rubber tappers, had launched the idea – to combine environmental preservation with land reform as a radical alternative to the destruction of the Amazon rainforest and its inhabitants.

Now, however, the euphoria of victory in the campaign to create the Reserve has worn off. There is a danger that the rubber tappers' movement could slide into confusion. It could fail to deliver on its promises and so surrender the initiative to the *patrões* ('barons') once again. But it is also possible that it will realize a long-elusive dream:

self-government in the forest for the peoples of the forest.

The tappers, huddled in groups around the hall, are discussing the future shape of their Reserve. They are mostly illiterate, but each group has its literate member who is painstakingly writing down suggestions for their Utilization Plan to be presented to the Brazilian Government. If this plan is approved then a formal concession will be drawn up handing over to the rubber tappers' association responsibility for the Reserve's administration. And looking after the forest and its resources is something in which they are well-versed.

'If too much land is cleared then all the dead leaf-litter gets washed away, and I've learned from my own experience that without this stuff called "humus" this land produces nothing,' says one tapper.

'If a palm tree is too tall to climb, don't cut it down – you should leave its fruit for the birds,' says another.

'The rubber tree is alive, and the latex is its blood – just like a human being it can bleed to death, and mistreating it to the point where it dies is a great crime which the Association must punish,' says a third.

From group after group voices rise in affirmation of principles of which any environmentalist would be proud – but they belong to people who would be hard pressed to give you a definition of 'ecology' or 'environmentalism'. The points they are discussing spring from the practical realities of their lives in the rainforest, rather than from any abstract ecological creed.

'It's interesting that these *seringueiros* have taken three days of discussion to arrive at a set of conclusions which are already on the Brazilian statute books,' remarks Ciomara Bittencourt, a sociologist from IBAMA, the federal environment agency which is legally responsible for the

Reserve. Ciomara is there as an observer – and her remark is very much to the point. On paper Brazil has one of the world's best sets of environmental legislation – but it has become one of the world's biggest environmental disaster areas nonetheless.

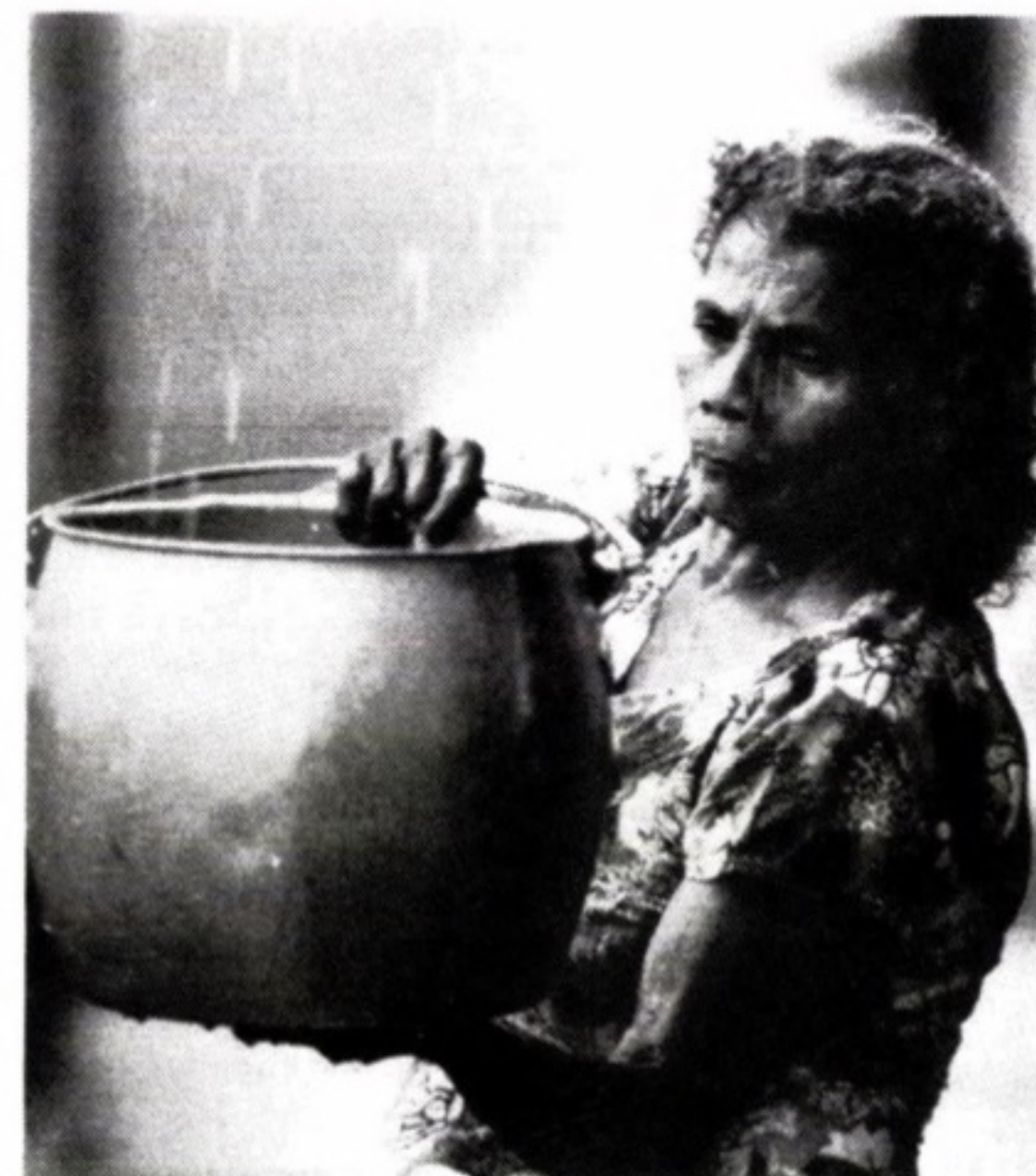
One of the main reasons for this is that the legislators never bothered to ask the inhabitants of regions such as the Amazon for their opinions. Official policy has veered between erratic persecution of local people who hunt species such as the *jabuti* tortoise – a highly-prized delicacy – and repression of forest-dwellers' 'subversive' attempts to stop such destructive activities as ranching. By contrast, the rubber-tappers' Utilization Plan proposals are remarkably consistent and practical.

The Plan proposes to permit hunting 'to complement food supplies, with the traditional exchange between neighbours' – game is an essential source of protein in the rainforest. But the Plan imposes a complete ban on commercial hunting and the use of hunting dogs for large game such as deer and tapir. Bans are also proposed on all timber extraction not required for the immediate needs of the *seringueiros* – like building houses or canoes – on commercial fishing and on clearing forest beyond the few hectares required by each family's shifting manioc cultivation.

The main authority on the preservation of the area's natural resources, according to the Plan, should be 'a Commission for the Protection of the Reserve made up of long-established and respected inhabitants'. One such person is 61-year-old Dona Maria de Nazaré, who has made the two-day canoe journey from her home on the River Bagé to the site of the meeting to add her voice to the discussions. Antônio Macedo, the Juruá Valley *seringueiros* leader who is coordinating the meeting, refers to Dona Maria as a 'guardian of the forest'. This determined old lady cuts a much more convincing figure as an authority on her environment than desk-bound Brasília bureaucrats.

But few rubber tappers venture to define 'the environment'. Both Chico Ginu, the Association's charismatic young president, and the veteran accountant Senhor Antônio de Paula sum up their objectives as the 'holy trinity': Co-operatives, Health and Education. It is, they say, the lack of health care and education for their children, as much as material poverty, that drives *seringueiro* families to abandon the forest for the city slums.

This is what Senhor Antônio means when he says that 'development in Amazonia must go ahead, whether the ecologists like it or not'. He reflects a widespread suspicion that the *gringos ecológicos* would rather see the Amazon preserved as a kind of giant botanical garden



Dona Maria de Nazaré: more convincing than Brasília bureaucrats.

or bird sanctuary than filled with healthy, well-fed human beings. But he also insists that 'we can't let the business bosses' system take over here, or the whole area will end up like the North-East' – the devastated, drought-stricken region from which he himself migrated to the rubber forests of the Juruá 41 years ago.

The first element of the 'holy trinity' to reach the reserve was the Co-operative. Its two years of existence have provided an occasionally bitter succession of learning experiences for the movement. Working capital is down to a critical level. The Brazilian National Development Bank has delayed releasing the third instalment of its start-up grant – a delay which Antônio Macedo blames on pressure from *patrão* politicians. Many *seringueiros* have failed to pay back what they owe the Co-op, convinced by the *patrões*' disinformation campaign that the goods they purchased on credit were 'presents from the gringos' which consequently need not be paid for.

The Reserve remains overwhelmingly dependent on rubber, which is under threat as new plantations in south-eastern Brazil begin to squeeze what remains of its market. Alternatives will take years of investment in production and marketing before a return can be guaranteed. But the Association is keen to try. Chico wants to bring in outsiders who can teach the *seringueiros* agro-forestry techniques and supervise the introduction of new crops.

This kind of exchange between outsiders and locals can already be found in the second area of the 'trinity', that of health care. In an initiative funded by the London-based development agency Health Unlimited specialists from outside are brought in to provide medical support and, above all, to set up a community-based health service using local people, working

Taking note and taking over:
Co-op members at the Assembly.



with local healers and midwives, the repositories of traditional knowledge.

The Association sees the third member of the trinity, education, as fundamental. The younger generation will find themselves learning the values which inspired the creation of the Extractive Reserve in school as well as from the older members of the community. Their curriculum will be based on the experience of these elders and the reality of forest life – provided, that is, that funding can be found.

Will this 'holy trinity' distance the *seringueiros* from their environment? Senhor Antônio holds the view that 'it's inevitable that people will grow further apart from nature'. He believes that better animal husbandry – including the breeding of tapirs and other native species – will lead to the eclipse of hunting. A health service with modern medicines will replace the less effective of the traditional cures – such as an infusion of dog excrement for curing measles. Work in the fields and reforested areas will replace the daily round of tapping the rubber trees scattered throughout the forest.

But, according to Chico: 'The *seringueiro* will always be of the forest, and knows that the forest is the source of life'.

Those who migrate to the towns – or even visit them – feel displaced and lost. Dolor Farias, Secretary of the Association, recently came to São Paulo for an eye operation: on his return he gave an emotional speech to the Assembly about how he had been to a place where 'development' held sway. He had seen such horrors as a dead river without fish and people lying hungry in the streets with no game to hunt and no palm-fronds with which to thatch a shelter. When Senhor Antônio went to Rio de Janeiro to visit some long-lost relatives he replied to their insistence that he move there permanently by saying: 'How could I leave my green paradise for your concrete hell?'

If the Brazilian Government approves the rubber tappers' Utilization Plan then the *seringueiros* of the Upper Juruá Extractive Reserve will have proved that it is sometimes possible to force officialdom to listen to the peoples of the rainforest. Whether their voice will be heard by the international officials about to descend on Rio de Janeiro for the United Nations 'Earth Summit' is quite another matter. It may well be that their dream of development involves replacing the 'green hell' of Amazônia with a concrete paradise... ■

Alex Shankland, a regular contributor to the *NI*, is based in São Paulo and is active in environmental and development projects in western Amazônia. For more background on the Upper Juruá Extractive Reserve and the Kampa Indians, see *NI* 219, May 1991, *Thirst for Justice: The People of the Amazon*.

Talking garbage

Lasanda Kurukulasuriya takes a Sri Lankan view of recyclomania.

'REDUCE! Re-use! Recycle!' The message hits Canadian consumers through all the media, including – ironically enough – the junk mail. 'Don't use all those plastic bags! Don't choke fruit and vegetables with plastic! Buy loose!'

As newcomers from Sri Lanka we try to absorb the barrage and we compare it with the situation back home. We may not be the most environmentally concerned citizens in the world. But compared with this we do not have a garbage problem – yet.

Like many shoppers in Colombo, my partner Shahid and I used to have a cane basket we took along with us to the Sunday fair or *pola* every week. No environmentalist could have complained about it. I liked that basket in a way I could not possibly have liked a plastic bag. My cat liked it too, and I had a tough time keeping him from sleeping in it.

You need a good sturdy basket at the *pola*. There are no supermarket carts to push around. Most items – rice, flour, lentils, vegetables, fruit, biscuits, eggs – are bought loose or wrapped in newspaper. If you want a plastic bag you usually have to pay for it. At most we would carry one plastic bag separately. For eggs we took a reusable plastic tray along with us.

Sri Lankan children still carry reusable, litter-free plastic drink bottles to school. The obnoxious 'Tetra-Pak', that square juice pack with a layer of aluminium inside, a layer of plastic outside and cardboard in between, has yet to make its appearance. Coca Cola, Fanta and Sprite have all but usurped the local competition in the soft drink industry, but reusable glass bottles are still very much the norm. When income levels are low, people need to buy in small quantities – large, two-litre plastic containers don't move fast enough. It is quite normal to ask for a single envelope or cigarette, two eggs or 100 grams of sugar at the ubiquitous 'boutiques' that thrive on every street corner.

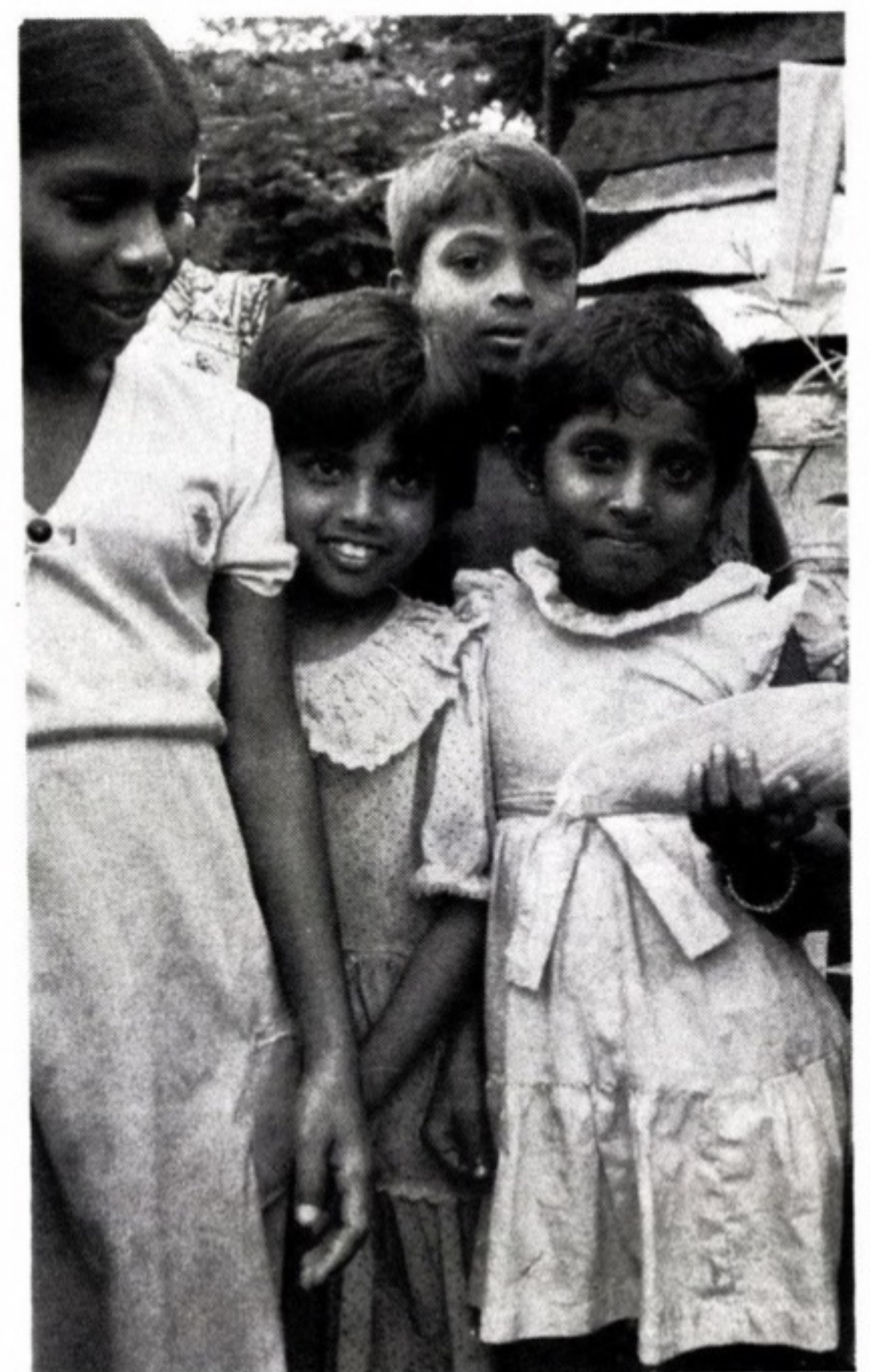
Neither a vendor nor a householder likes to feel short-changed for want of a little power of persuasion. There was an orange seller who dropped by our

home every so often. Even before he walked through the gate he would announce his – astronomical – opening price, complete with an explanation: unique quality, absolute scarcity, market fluctuations and so on.

Walking into the shade he would place his basket on the ground, taking his time, mopping his brow – to await the usual response. 'Are you out of your mind?' would be his next reaction. 'No oranges today. No time. We are leaving now.' Then came a protracted debate on the size, shape, colour, sweetness, juiciness and any other special features of the oranges present, with cross references to oranges past, their relative worth in rupees and cents.

During the course of this weighty business either party might at any time take a break to gaze at the sky, swear at the heat or bow the head to ponder on the eternal verities of life. As the final price drew near

The best wrapping of all: leaves.



MARK EDWARDS/STILL PICTURES

our vendor would magnanimously drop the price a full 50 cents and *voilà!* a sale would be made.

The point is that, for the most part, middle class urban consumers in Sri Lanka still cannot afford the luxury of waste. Most people do not buy more from the grocers than they know they will actually consume. They re-use whatever they can and are loath to discard bags, jars, tins or boxes that can be put to other uses. Colombo's poshest gardens are still manured with cattle dung, compost and used tea leaves.

There is no equivalent in Colombo to Toronto's 'blue-box' programme for recycling paper. But most people save newspaper anyway, to be sold to the 'paper man' – an institution as old as newspapers themselves. The 'paper man' disturbs your Sunday afternoon with his unintelligible cry (it means 'Papers, bottles!') as he strolls down the road balancing a neatly-folded bag on his head. Tucked in at the waist of his sarong is a metal scale, which he uses to weigh the papers in lots on your doorstep. Empty bottles are valued on a case-by-case basis. The 50 or 100 rupees you might make on the deal is easily enough to take you to the movies. The paper man sells to wholesale traders, who in turn sell to the 'boutiques', which use it to wrap the items they sell.

I don't want to give a false impression of a cozy, picture-perfect, small-town paradise. Environment is a sorely neglected issue in Sri Lanka. Colombo does have a garbage disposal problem. But it is largely caused, I suspect, by municipal inefficiency rather than the volume of garbage. Excess packaging has not reached anything like the proportions of the crisis in North America.

But in recent years Western-style supermarkets have begun to spring up in Colombo. They hold out the promise of clean, efficient, streamlined – and impersonal – service to customers. A range of imported products, dressed up in their layers of attractive, colourful packaging, beckons from the shelves. These are the very products that demand your attention on the TV advertisements. Along with them Sri Lanka, like so many other developing countries, may have imported a problem that once never existed.

For the time being the big supermarkets are places where only the elite can shop. The over-riding need for thrift and economy prevents middle-class consumers from patronizing them. Soon, though, supermarket shopping may well become the order of the day in the cities. Then it can only be a matter of time before Sri Lanka has to appeal to some Western government for aid so that it can develop techniques for environmentally-friendly product packaging. ■

Lasanda Kurukulasuriya is a Sri Lankan journalist currently living in Canada.

Portrait of a revolutionary

She's in trouble again. **Wangari Maathai** is the Kenyan Green Belt activist who won't shut up – on anyone's orders.

WANGARI Maathai is not one to mince words. She recently told a meeting packed with distinguished Africans, diplomats and international development experts: 'Many leaders have been unaccountable to their people, have stolen from their people by partly diverting aid loans and other resources into personal fortunes.'

Such boldness has earned her a reputation as a trouble-maker at home in Kenya. She was the first woman in black Africa to gain a PhD and the first Kenyan woman professor at the University of Nairobi. But when she tried to run for political office the ruling party would not accept her as a candidate. Then the university would not have her back – and nor would anyone else.

Living from her savings she worked as a volunteer for the National Council of Women in Kenya, encouraging professional women to work with rural women. It was then that the link between women and the environment became apparent to her.

Rural women spend most of their time travelling long distances to fetch increasingly scarce water and firewood. Their land is poor and they grow crops like tea and coffee to sell on international markets, rather than food. Prices are so low they cannot feed their families. Maathai organized women to plant trees for firewood. She paid them for each tree that survived – personal income for them, when traditionally only men touched the family's money.

That was in 1977, and it was the beginning of the Green Belt Movement, which has so far planted 10 million trees. Now she devotes all her time to it and aims to start a Pan-African movement.

Maathai has also been active in the urban environment. When the City Commission in Nairobi proposed to allow construction on the site of Jeevanjee Gardens, Maathai encouraged people to speak out against it and organized a meeting between the public and developers. The project was eventually cancelled.

She has also campaigned to save Uhuru Park – the most important open space in downtown Nairobi – from being turned into an office complex, conference centre and shopping mall.

'I'm not opposed to development,' she says. 'But development that plunders resources like forests, land, air and food, oblivious of the needs of tomorrow, is short-sighted and self-defeating.'

Some politicians said it was un-African for a woman to stand up and answer back when men talked. In January she was detained, then released on bail, charged with 'publishing false rumours'. But Maathai has never stopped talking and writing. 'Unless people speak out and demand environmentally sustainable cities,' she says, 'our children will be condemned to the concrete, unhealthy jungles typical of many unplanned, overcrowded and polluted cities of other countries.'



Green Belt activist, Wangari Maathai.

There has been a price to pay for the Uhuru project controversy. Developers closed the Green Belt offices. Maathai now works from home. Apart from two rooms where she and her youngest son live, the house has been given over to office space.

'People in Northern countries who give aid don't know when the aid is not reaching the people,' she says. 'And the working people don't know aid borrowed in their name is stolen by their leaders and that they are paying for it.'

Unfairness and hypocrisy anger her, as when Northerners pay next to nothing for crops but charge high prices for pesticides to grow them. She says people love to blame the victims, accusing Africans of not working hard enough and not knowing what they are doing. 'But those people are working. They get up at five in the morning and work 'till late at night and don't know why things are so bad.'

'At 50 I know I have maybe another 20 active years,' she says. 'Before anything happens to me I want to know that the seeds have really been planted, that things will carry on changing.'

Her ideas are being put to the test more quickly than she may have feared. An active member of the opposition Forum group, she had been on hunger strike with other women in Uhuru Park, pressing for the release of political prisoners. On 4th March she was clubbed unconscious by police and, as we go to press, is reported to be in a critical condition in hospital in Nairobi.

Interviewed by Gillian Forrester and Patrick Isaack of the Gemini News Service.

Simply... **GRIEF AND GLOBALONEY!**

MARY GREEN IS A SENIOR EXECUTIVE WITH A MAJOR DEVELOPMENT AGENCY. IT'S JUST TURNED GREEN. SHE'S ON A 'STUDY TOUR' OF THE PERUVIAN AMAZON. **JORGE VERDE** IS A LOCAL COMMUNITY LEADER AND HER GUIDE...

HEY-LISTEN, GEORGE! THIS ENVIRONMENT THING. SAVE THE WORLD... FUTURE GENERATIONS... GLOBAL VILLAGE... WE NEED YOUR UNDERSTANDING ON THIS ONE.

STEADY AS SHE GOES

AYE AYE, SIR!

AND WE NEED YOURS, MARIA. YOU'VE MADE THE MESS. NOW YOU CLEAN IT UP.

WE'RE TALKING ENVIRONMENT HERE, NOT MONEY, BUT WE COULD HELP YOU LEAPFROG INTO STATE-OF-THE-ART-ECO-FRIENDLY-ENVIRONMENTALLY-SUSTAINABLE TECHNOLOGY.

DO IT! DO IT!

SOUNDS GOOD. WHO PAYS?

HAVE SOME VISION! THIS THING'S BIGGER THAN THE BOTH OF US. CAN'T YOU STOP THINKING ABOUT MONEY FOR A MINUTE?

I'D LIKE NOTHING BETTER. BUT LIVING IN PENURY AND DEBT BONDAGE IT'S NOT SO EASY. GIVE IT A GO SOMETIME...

GOOD NIGHT IRENE, GOOD NIGHT IRENE, GOOD NIGHT IRENE, GOOD NIGHT

OH, THAT MAGICAL SLAP FOREST... IT'S SO... SLAP MAGICAL! ALL THOSE SLAP GENES IN THERE, ALL THAT BIO SLAP DIVERSITY!

GRIEF AND CLOBALONEY. THAT'S WHAT YOU GIVE US. GET SOME SLEEP.



Tread gently on the earth

The UN's 'Earth Summit' in Brazil is a chance for the North to listen and learn from the South. Here's what some leading environmental activists from the South are saying.

VANDANA SHIVA

GLOBAL BULLIES

THE MOTTO for the North at the UN Earth Summit and other global negotiations seems to be: 'What is yours is mine; what is mine is mine.' This lopsided view of a common future is made easier by the idea of the 'global'. Through its global reach the North exists in the South. The South, however, exists only within itself. The South can only exist locally, while only the North exists globally.

The ordinary Indian woman who worships the *tulsi* plant worships the cosmic as symbolized in the plant. The peasants who treat seeds as sacred see in them their connection to the universe. Treading gently on the earth becomes the natural way to be. Demands for a planetary consciousness are made on the self, not on others.

The moral framework of the 'global reach' of the North is the opposite. The G-7 group of rich countries can demand a forest convention that imposes international obligations on the Third World to plant trees. The Third World cannot demand of the industrialized countries a reduction in their use of fossil fuels and energy.

'Global ecology' at this level becomes a moralization of immorality. It is empty of any ethics for planetary living. It is based not on concepts of universal solidarity but on universal bullying.

The reversal of ecological decline involves strengthening local rights. The two central planks of local environmental rights are the right to information and the right to prior consent. Any activity with potential impact on the local environment should have the consent of local people.

The 'global' must cede to the local, since the local exists within nature while the 'global' exists only in the offices of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and multinational corporations. We should not worry about how to get the last tribal to sit in on World Bank decisions in

Washington. But we do need to ensure that no World Bank decision that affects the resources of tribals gets taken without their prior informed consent.

The Earth Summit will be a failure if it does not create conditions for an earth democracy. An earth democracy cannot be realized so long as there is global domination by undemocratic structures. It cannot be realized on the basis of an anthropomorphism that excludes the rights of non-human nature. And it cannot be realized if planetary survival is used to deny the right to survival of those who are poor and marginal today because they have borne the accumulated burden of centuries of subjugation.

Vandana Shiva is Director of the Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Natural Resource Policy, Dehradun, India.

MARTIN KHOR KOK PENG

NERO'S CHILDREN

IS THE SOUTH using the environment as a bargaining chip, a leverage, to get more aid from the North? Is the South saying: 'If you don't give us money, we will chop down all the trees and poison the atmosphere just to spite you?'

We don't think so.

The message is this: 'We are defending the last vestiges of our sovereignty over resources. This is a last chance for the people to survive and live with dignity.'

If Northern politicians are afraid to advise their public to buy fewer cars and use less oil, can a Southern government really be expected to tell its people to tighten their belts further and make room for *two* 'structural adjustments': one forced on us by external debt, the other by new ecological imperatives?

What we are talking about ultimately is survival, humanity, dignity and democracy. As national development agencies we in the South have spent a lot of our energy broadening the democratic spaces in our national



societies, removing the barriers to people's participation, helping social movements regain their right to land, to good health and adequate nutrition, to safety, housing and a sustainable environment.

We now realize that the fight for democracy must also be extended to the international arena, where the lack of democracy is so obvious. International democracy is needed just as much as national democracy. Until there are moves towards a more balanced world economic order there is little hope for any genuine partnership on environment.

There must thus be a review of the behaviour and performance of the major economic players, including the transnational corporations, the international banks, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). These institutions, which make the decisions that affect so much of our lives, must be made much more accountable to the public.

Local communities in our countries must also have the opportunity to participate. The public has this right because it is the public that suffers the consequences if something



goes wrong – whether it be the Bhopal residents dying from chemical poisoning or the more than 100,000 farmers dying from pesticide poisoning annually, or the hundreds of millions of people suffering the social and economic effects of structural adjustment policies imposed by the World Bank and IMF.

Environmental and economic issues have to be resolved simultaneously. The operating principles must be ecological sustainability and social equity. With a fairer North-South balance non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the South can encourage people's participation in socially just and environmentally sound development. The North has to change within itself, and the battle for that 'adjustment' will be as difficult as it is necessary.

The barricades on the road to Rio can be removed, and the fires dampened down, if the North starts talking economics and the South responds more to ecology. Otherwise, history will remember the leaders of today as we remember Nero, for fiddling when there were more important things to be done.

Martin Khor Kok Peng is Managing Editor of *Third World Resurgence* magazine.

CHARLES ABUGRE

DOLPHINS, ELEPHANTS & PEOPLE

WE LIVE IN COUNTRIES where people are dying in larger numbers than dolphins or elephants; where indigenous and sustainable lifestyles are being disrupted by loggers or large-scale farmers or miners; where poor and indigenous peoples face the manipulation of their production systems into greater and greater dependence on an unfair world market; where the social and traditional safety nets of people are being eroded by a market economy that is unreliable and capricious. Therefore, in our view, the urgency of saving the world's environment lies in saving human beings from abject poverty alongside their natural resources.

The central issue is the empowering of communities and the poor to take control over their own resources. We ask the North to strengthen its own social security systems for the poor and reduce income disparities worldwide. We ask the South to give priority to relieving poverty and redistributing

land and assets in favour of the poor.

Internationally we call for a review and revival of the UN General Assembly's declaration for a new international economic order, programmes to reverse the declining terms of trade of the Third World, to reverse resource flows, to regulate transnational corporations and to democratize multilateral financial institutions like the World Bank. We ask that the World Bank's interference in national and regional policy-making be curtailed.

Charles Abugre is an economist from Ghana.

COICA

WISE MANAGERS

MORE THAN 500 years ago, before the United Nations, before the Earth Summit or even ecology as a concept existed, the indigenous peoples knew already how to explore and conserve their natural resources.

And we shall continue doing so for another 500 years. We hope that the Earth Summit will take this into account and include in all its resolutions the priority of giving indigenous peoples land rights.

We also claim our rights to control our own resources and apply our traditional practices of wise management. The two million members of the indigenous peoples of South America's Amazon basin, representing more than 500 distinct cultures, have been using tropical forests in a sustainable way for thousands of years. We will go on doing so, and any state or international policy that aspires to do the same must co-ordinate with the indigenous peoples.

Unfortunately there has been very little co-ordination between the UN organizers of the Earth Summit and indigenous peoples. So-called 'participation' usually remains in documents kept on files. We do not want impositions and conflicts regarding the Earth Summit's conventions, nor national laws and projects which we do not understand and cannot support.

We, the indigenous Amazonians, talk with nature with or without conventions, with or without financial funds. With this historical and moral authority we call on governments and the United Nations system to work with us to avoid the destruction of the unity between Amazonia and its indigenous peoples.

Statement by the Coordinating Body for Indigenous People's Organizations of the Amazon Basin (COICA).

All the above extracts are reprinted with permission from 'The battle for the Earth Summit', *Third World Resurgence*, No 14/15 October/November 1991. *Third World Resurgence* is published monthly by Third World Network, 87 Cantonment Road, 10250 Penang, Malaysia.

JØRGEN SCHYTTE / STILL PICTURES

ACTION DIRECTORY

Useful addresses, campaigns and events

THERE are thousands of active environmental groups in the world. In the South the first port of call should be co-ordinating groups. Two of the most active are *Third World Network*, based at the Consumers' Association of Penang, 87 Cantonment Road, 10250 Penang, Malaysia, tel (4) 373511, and *Instituto del Tercer Mundo*, Miguel del Corro 1461, Montevideo 11200, Uruguay, tel (2) 496 192.

Groups with a Southern perspective in readers' countries are as follows.

AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND

Two groups emphasizing the Third World perspective on UNCED are: *UNCED Committee*, c/o P I R M, PO Box 10-123, The Terrace, Wellington, tel (04) 4738 312 and *Trade Aid Education Unit*, PO Box 18620, Christchurch, tel (03) 3887 016. The *Voice of the Children International Campaign* is an initiative in which students from all nations will participate in organized 'hearings' with leading politicians and environmentalists. Contact Leon Burstein, 515 Marine Parade, South Brighton, Christchurch. VOCIC is not yet operating nationwide, but the Christchurch group would be happy to help others to start a campaign elsewhere.

AUSTRALIA

Community Aid Abroad, 75 Brunswick Street, Fitzroy, Victoria 3065, tel (03) 419 7055, promotes an understanding of the Third World on environment and development issues. Also the *Australian Conservation Foundation*, 340 Gore Street, Fitzroy, Victoria 3065, tel (03) 416 1455, and the *International Environmental Law Centre*, Suite 82, 280 Pitt Street, Sydney, NSW 2000, tel (02) 261 3599. A United Nations World Environment Day is earmarked for 5 June.

CANADA

Probe International, 225 Brunswick Avenue, Toronto, Ontario M5S 2M6, tel (416) 978 7014, is campaigning to stop the commitment of funds to the Global Environment Facility (the 'Green Fund') proposed for the World Bank. The Canadian Environmental Network's delegates to the Canadian Participating Committee for UNCED include: *Cultural Survival Canada*, 1 Nicholas Street, 420, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 7B7 tel (613) 233



SUE DARLOW / FORMAT

4653, *Greenpeace Canada*, 185 Spadina Avenue, 6th floor, Toronto, Ontario M5T 2C6, tel (416) 345 8408 and *Friends of the Earth*, 251 Laurier Avenue W, Ste 701, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5J6, tel (613) 230 3352.

UNITED KINGDOM

As usual, a good starting point is the *World Development Movement*, 25 Beehive Place, London SW9 7QR, tel (071) 737 6215. The *Tree of Life - Pledging for the Planet* is a campaign to get pledges on changed lifestyles from Northerners, which will be taken to Rio; contact Jonathon Porritt/Gillian Harvey, 30 Grove End Road, London NW8 9LJ, tel (071) 286 2565. May 11 to 16 is *Christian Aid Week* - contact *Christian Aid*, Interchurch House, 35 Lower Marsh, London SE1 7RL tel (071) 620 4444. May 16 to 24 is *Environment Week* - contact Angela Carvill, Civic Trust, 17 Carlton House Terrace, London SW1Y 5AW, tel (071) 930 0914. For information on rallies, meetings and other activities leading up to UNCED contact *UNA*, Whitehall Court, London SW1A 2EL, tel (071) 930 2931.

UNITED STATES

InterAction, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue NW, 9th Floor, Washington DC 20036, tel (202) 667 8227 is trying to encourage the US Government and the UNCED Secretariat to take action on poverty issues. Also contact *The US Citizen's Network on UNCED*, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York NY 10017, USA, tel (212) 682 3633.

ONE WORLD '92

More than 50 national broadcasters, mostly from Europe and led by the BBC, have come together to raise public awareness worldwide on the issues and opportunities of the Earth Summit. The core of the programmes is expected to be seen in some 150 countries during May and June.

Developing Stories asked film-makers in the South to come up with their own ideas on the issues they considered most crucial. Six films from



Brazil, Burkino Faso, India, Lebanon, the Philippines and the Caribbean explore these issues through drama, documentary, music and fable.

Happy families follows families in the UK, Japan, Portugal, Germany, Norway and the US making the changes needed for an environmentally friendly lifestyle. The programmes use a soap-opera format and focus on what both individuals and governments can do.

Other films include *Mpingo*, the fight to save the world's last ebony forest; *Invisible Entrepreneurs*, with Anita Roddick of the Body Shop introducing Southern women entrepreneurs; *Pachamama*, contrasting biological richness with human poverty in Peru; *Greenbucks* on industry and the environment; *Sex, Drugs and Dinner*, Alexei Sayle's satirical look at agribusiness.

One World Day, Saturday 30 May, will see activities all over Europe, and in the UK the culmination of the *Tree of Life - Pledging for the Planet* campaign. There will be a major evening of entertainment and action featuring the voice of young people worldwide.

Contacts

For further information about linking with *One World 92* contact Liz Rowlands, One World Support 92, 2 Ferdinand Place, London NW1 8EE, tel (071) 482 2847.

ALSO WORTH READING... on the environment and the South.

Availability is a real problem. You might ask your library to order *Third World Resurgence* (from the *Third World Network* address), which would keep you and others up to date on how the South sees the issues. The most consistently provocative writer is Vandana Shiva, whose latest book, *Ecology and the Politics of Survival - Conflicts over Natural Resources in India* was published in 1991 by the United Nations University Press, Sage Publications, New Delhi/Newbury Park/London. An engrossing and exemplary piece of work is *Towards Green Villages - a Strategy for Environmentally-Sound and Participatory Rural Development* by Anil Agarwal and Sunita Narain, Centre for Science and Environment, 807 Vishal Bhawan, 95 Nehru Place, New Delhi 110 019, India.

You'll find that most publications on the environment in the North routinely ignore a Southern perspective, but two honourable exceptions are *State of the World 1992*, Worldwatch Institute, Washington, 1992; and *Costing the Earth - Striking the Global Bargain at the 1992 Earth Summit*, World Development Movement, London, 1991. Or you could start reading fiction from the South - and there the choice seems limitless.

WOMEN

Unwelcome in India

Aborting girls increases



PHOTO / UNICEF

It's a boy's life. Modern technology aids prejudice.

ONE of the most disturbing results of the 1991 Indian census was that a decline in the female proportion of the population, evident since the turn of the century, has not been reversed. Neglect for girls from birth onwards is the main reason. But an alarming trend of aborting unborn female children is sweeping the land.

What began as a middle-class, urban phenomenon is now penetrating rural areas as well. Ultrasound clinics can be found in medium-sized towns, while roving diagnostic teams take their ultrasound scanners wherever there is a demand. They advertise using catchlines like 'Spend 600 rupees

(\$23) now and save 50,000 rupees later.' The implication is that by avoiding a girl, couples will be spared the heavy dowry expected in Hindu society.

So far only Maharashtra state has banned pre-natal sex determination. In Rohtak, a town in Haryana, there are four ultrasound clinics. In the past decade Rohtak's sex ratio has declined from 879 women per 1000 men to 866. 'The very existence of women is under attack', said Jagmati Sangwan, a physical education instructor at a college in Rohtak. 'They are being denied even the right to be born.'

Hamish McDonald/ Far Eastern Economic Review No.52

Subliminal advertising

The prominent placing of brand names in films is an old advertising trick. It is so effective that companies are willing to pay \$50 million a year for the privilege. One of the most popular recent US films aimed at children, *Home Alone*, had 31 featured brands.

Concern has centred as much on the deception as on the placement, for viewers are unaware that advertising is taking place. The Center for the Study of Commercialism in the US is campaigning to make such placements 'transparent' with an announcement at the start of the film.

New Consumer, No 10, 1992

Saving the animals

A new and inexpensive way to test drugs without killing laboratory animals has been developed by a Viennese professor at the University of Cincinnati. At a recent meeting in Linz, Austria, Professor Heinrich Koch described his use of yeast cells to measure toxicity in standard tests in which animals - usually mice or rats - are given increasing doses of chemicals until 50 per cent of the animals die. Using yeast cells, which are insensitive to pain, Koch has been able to test drug toxicity in hours rather than the weeks it would take to test the drugs on rats and mice.

World Press Review, 39.1

Who would have thought...

More than 62 percent of Japanese think that they can get AIDS from a bite by a mosquito that had first bitten a virus carrier, a government survey has shown. The figure was up from 52.2 percent in a survey in 1987. Those believing mistakenly that they can catch the virus by sharing bath and toilet items with HIV carriers rose sharply to 40.9 percent from 29.8 percent in 1987.

World Press Review, 39.1



Electronic gadgetry isn't worth much to people who need a good stove.

CANADA

No-nonsense Nellie

The woman who runs the Northwest Territories

MOST Canadians see their politics revolving around the relationship between the Federal Government of Brian Mulroney and the country's 10 provincial governments. Whether Quebec will break away from the other nine provinces is their main concern.

Few people even know that one fifth of the country is actually being governed by a strong-willed woman named Nellie Cournoyea. She is Government Leader of the Northwest Territories (NWT), most of whose 50,000 population are native people: either Dene, Inuit, and Metis, or mixed Dene and French-Canadian. Nellie – nobody calls her anything else – herself is of mixed ancestry. Her father came from Norway in 1925 and her mother is Inuit.

Politics in the North West Territories are unlike anywhere else in Canada. There are no political parties and each member is elected on her or his merit. The legislature conducts its business in no fewer than six languages – once a sitting had to be adjourned when a member spoke in the rare Dogrib Indian dialect and the interpreter had taken the afternoon off.

The leader and her or his ministers are chosen by vote of all the members of the legislature. Before voting members subjected Nellie and the other candidate to a four-hour long, tough inquisition.

After Nellie was chosen as Government Leader, she said she wanted the title changed to 'Premier', to match the system in neighbouring Yukon. 'When will that happen?' asked a journalist. 'When we have run out of stationery with "Government Leader" printed on it,' was her reply.

She has, of course, bigger problems to deal with. Since 1980 there have been negotiations to divide the North West Territories into two, and a plebiscite is due this year to seek agreement on a proposed borderline.

If accepted, the Eastern Arctic will be



Nellie Cournoyea
Leader of the NWT

Nunavut
Area: 350,000 sq km
(20% of Canada)
Population: 17,500
(.2% of 26 million total)
2558



mainly Inuit. The Western Arctic is far less homogeneous and faces more intensely the disruptive problems of modernization. After a 10-year moratorium, a pipeline to carry oil from the North Slope of Alaska and the Beaufort Sea is to be built, and the mineral riches of the territory will be increasingly exploited. The division, if agreed, will not finally take place until 1997, but Nellie will be busy preparing for these changes.

Clyde Sanger/Gemini



Stitching up those flies

Forty million sterile flies from Mexico were released from aircraft over Libya each week as part of a UN Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) campaign in 1991 to eradicate a grave threat to African livestock and wildlife.

Some 26,000 square kilometres of Libya are believed to be infested with the New World Screwworm fly, which lays its eggs in wounds on any warm-blooded animal, including humans. The larvae eat into the flesh of the host which, if not treated, can die within days.

Because flies have such a short lifespan the introduction of sterile males greatly reduces the flies' chances of reproducing themselves. That's the theory – and it's working, says the FAO.

UN Food and Agricultural Organization

HUMAN RIGHTS

Cry for me, Argentina

Mourning permitted

THE Argentine Team of Forensic Anthropology is bringing some comfort to the relatives of the thousands who were killed during Argentina's military dictatorship. According to Alejandro Inchautegui, a member of the team, 'The relatives are under a state of suspended mourning, of permanent shock, due to the fact that they have had no access to the truth: "Where are they? What was it like? What may have happened? Were they badly tortured? What may have been the date of their death? Where may their remains be, so that I can take them flowers or practise the rites, or remember them on their birthday?" For the dead torture ended the minute they died, but for the relatives it has gone on and on in time.'

The team has taken on the mammoth task of identifying bodies recovered from mass graves so that each death may be given the dignity it deserves but did not get. According to official estimates, 10,000 people went missing between 1976 and 1984 but according to some versions the real figures could be twice as high.

They work from a series of pre-mortem

data collected to make up the history of a body when it was alive – its diseases, dental information, traumas, operations, injuries, malformations. Then this data is compared (aided by computers) with the bodies they carefully unearth.

Where pre-mortem information is lacking they are studying the DNA of bone remains in collaboration with foreign universities. They attempt to match this genetic information with that of surviving relatives to identify the bodies.

Disturbing statistics on the treatment of the people who were taken hostage and then executed have emerged. Ninety per cent were shot from behind. Pregnant women were allowed to deliver their children and then shot. The search is on for the missing children who were taken away by their captors.

The laws of *Punto Final* ('Full Stop', which put an end to the possibility of filing claims for human rights violations in Argentina) and *Obediencia Debida* ('Due Obedience', which pardoned those who had violated human rights while following orders given by superiors) have limited the possibility of sentencing anyone other than top rank officers.

Based on an interview with Alejandro Inchautegui by Cristina Canoura/Third World Network Features

NICARAGUA

Pizza piety

The Domino theory

THE voting out of the Sandinista Government in 1990 brought in a devoutly religious President in Violeta Chamorro. One bonus is an unexpected flow of private investment. Thomas Monaghan, founder and owner of Domino's – an American firm claiming to be the world's biggest purveyor of pizzas – is helping to put four million dollars into a new cathedral for Managua, Nicaragua's capital.

Some believe the multiple domes and campanile designed by Ricardo Legoreta, a Mexican who specializes in big hotels, would look better on a mosque. 'Nobody likes it much apart from the Domino's Pizza man,' remarked a local government official. 'But then beggars can't be choosers.'

The old cathedral has been a roofless, shaky shell since 1972, when an earthquake wrecked it along with much of the city centre. As for Mr Monaghan, he spent part of his childhood in a nuns' orphanage, went to a seminary for a year and now owns the Detroit Tigers baseball team. Yet for all his charity, Mr Monaghan does not neglect his recession-hit pizza business. Recently he fired the Domino Pizza president, reshuffled senior management and reasserted his own control.



CAMERA PRESS

The Economist, Vol. 322 No. 7742 1992

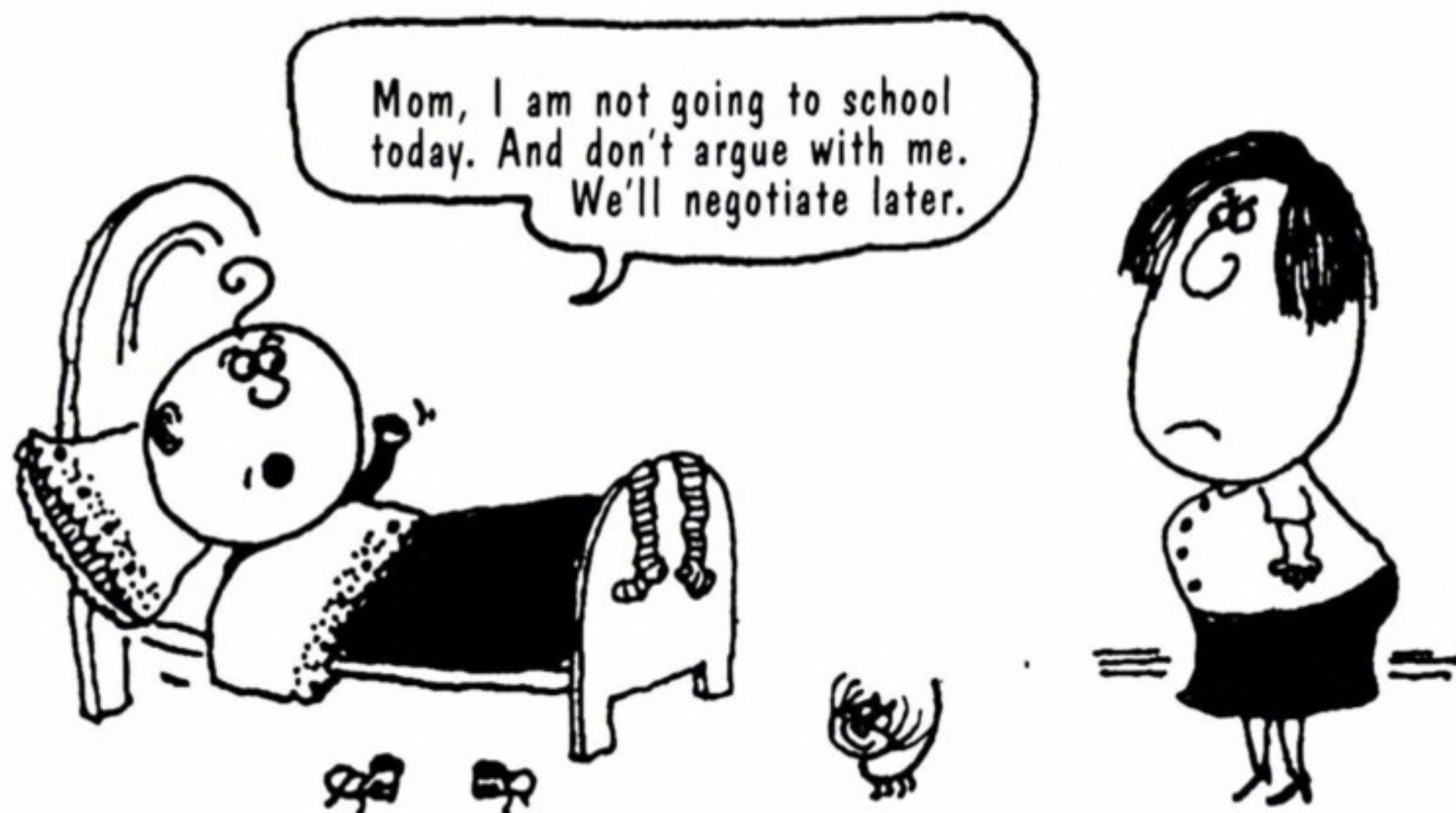
Falling to Domino's: the shaky shell of the old cathedral in Managua.

Smacking: an arrestable offence

There are now proposals for Germany to join Austria and the Scandinavian countries in making physical punishment of children illegal. The German Children's Parliamentary Commission has drafted legislation which would outlaw not only the hitting of children, but also 'mental cruelty' including ignoring children, withholding

affection and constant criticism. This follows a government committee commissioned to look at violence in German society which proposed, as its first recommendation, that corporal punishment within the family be made illegal.

Childright No 83, 1992



CARTOON / LANDRU CLARIN / BUENOS AIRES

END Quote

"I think the economic logic behind dumping a load of toxic waste in the lowest wage country is impeccable and we should face up to that."

Lawrence Summers, Chief economist of the World Bank in an internal memo, 12 December 1991.

"They who have put out the people's eyes reproach them for their blindness".

John Milton



At Play in the Fields of the Lord

directed by **Hector Babenco**

Argentinian director Hector Babenco has proved to be one of the few film-makers able to work within Hollywood and still maintain a political perspective. Since *Pixote* – a nightmarish study of street kids in Brazil – Babenco has been fortunate with his English-language projects, *Kiss of the Spiderwoman* and *Ironweed*.

At Play..., however, sees Babenco swamped by the scale of his ambition, although it's a more engrossing and sensitive film than most other Hollywood directors could have made. It's based on a novel by Peter Matthiessen, published in 1965 and remarkably prescient about environmental and colonial questions that only became popular currency in the 1980s.

It's the story of two missionary couples in Brazil, out to convert the rainforest-dwelling Niaruna tribe to their own gung-ho Baptist religion. Meanwhile, two dissolute American mercenaries – Wolfie (Tom Waits) and the half-Cheyenne Moon (Tom Berenger) – are being leaned on by the local Comandante to bomb the Niaruna out of existence so that he can claim their land. High on local rotgut, Moon becomes aware of his own kinship with the tribe and takes off into the jungle, where the Niaruna accept him as an emissary from heaven. When the missionaries follow him up river, one of them is forced to re-examine his faith.

The drama unfolds over a full three hours, and would have been considerably tauter if Babenco had done the expected thing and stuck to the Americans. It's his clear fascination for the Amazon people and their disappearing existence that gives the film its special flavour but also makes it cumbersome. Still, the film carries a sense of authenticity and on the whole avoids the *National Geographic* style you might have expected. The film-makers seem also to have applied some of the lessons that were so hard learned on productions like *Apocalypse Now* and Herzog's Amazon epics. Amazon tribes provided 90 per cent of the extras and were not forced into an artificial situation that might disrupt their own lifestyles.

This, then, would seem to be the serious, non-exploitative rainforest movie that Hollywood has



Impact of the cross: Yriwana Karaja fights back in *At Play...*

long been due to make. Babenco says he intended to deliver what was missing in the book, a fuller understanding of the Amazon tribes' culture. He has taken on more than even a three-hour film can handle, both politically and dramatically, and ultimately the film says little more than 'Hands off!' But it's still a valiant effort.

Politics ☆☆☆☆

Entertainment ☆☆☆



Tales of the Heart

by **Tom Hampson and Loretta Whalen** (Friendship Press)

This is a treasure trove. Originating in a series of seminars conducted by the US aid agency Church World Service, *Tales of the Heart* – **affective**

approaches to global education is primarily aimed at One World-orientated Christians. But anyone with a thinking (and, as the title implies, *feeling*) commitment to changing the world should be able to dip into this collection of quotations, cartoons, workshop exercises, songs and readings with pleasure.

The flavour of the book is best conveyed by a few of its quotations and one of its cartoons (see below), all of which aim to counter-act compassion fatigue and despair about the state of the world – and to convince each of us that we can make a real difference.

Politics ☆☆☆☆

Entertainment ☆☆☆

Publishers Friendship Press can be reached at PO Box 37844, Cincinnati, OH 45222-0844, USA.

Conflicts of Interest

edited by **Jamie Swift and Brian Tomlinson** (*Between the Lines*)

Shortly after the Brandt Commission reported in 1980, *Between the Lines* in Toronto published a book titled *Ties That Bind – Canada and the Third World*. **Conflicts of Interest** is something of a sequel, following a decade in which the gloomiest of Brandt's predictions came true. Brian Tomlinson sets the tone for the ten contributions to this book by laying the blame for the deepening Third World crisis squarely on the classical development model of 'growth'-based economics – and on the structural-adjustment programmes pushed as remedies by the IMF and the World Bank throughout the debt-beleaguered decade.

During these years, not only did the world's poor suffer a drastic drop in living standards, but the IMF gathered \$4.2 billion more in repayments from developing countries than it gave out in new loans. The policy of boosting commodity exports to Northern markets itself led to a drop in

prices, and growth failed to provide the foreign exchange that would reduce debt.

The fundamental illusion, as Tomlinson points out, is that the South can duplicate a Northern industrial model which actually depends upon the exploitation of the South's human and natural resources. Canada's official aid agency, CIDA, is usually considered quite progressive but unquestioningly accepts the IMF/World Bank's analysis of the world economy.

Conflicts of Interest performs two important functions. It demonstrates, using the indisputable evidence of the last decade, that free-market economics shows no sign of delivering the goods to the poor worldwide, even at a time when the former Soviet bloc has been converted to it. But most of all it debunks the myth that Canada is somehow more sympathetic to Third World interests, more altruistic and moral, than other Western nations.

Politics ☆☆☆☆

Entertainment ☆☆☆



Women of Wassoulou

by various artists (*Stern's Africa*)

One of the most interesting trends in African music in 1991 – at least as seen from the West – was the increasing prominence of women. Benin's Angélique Kidjo made a massive impact on the dance front, while more traditional exponents of West African vocal skills like Ami Koita and Oumou Sangaré – made their presence felt in international tours.

Women of Wassoulou is a compilation of music from what is definitely a female preserve – the

'When the forms of an old culture are dying, the new culture is created by a few people who are not afraid to be insecure.' Rudolf Bahro

'Pain and suffering are a kind of false currency passed from hand to hand until they reach someone who receives them but does not pass them on.' Simone Weil

'If I go as a Hindu, I will meet a Muslim or a Christian. If I go as a socialist, I'll meet a capitalist. If I go as a brown man, I'll meet a black man or a white man. But if I go as a human being, I'll meet only human beings.' Satish Kumar

'I will act as if what I do makes a difference.' William James
from *Tales of the Heart* (see above).



Cartoon: Dan Payola

Wassoulou region of southern Mali, where 90 per cent of the singers are women. The music emerges from a rural culture in which women traditionally accompanied men's hunting dances. Far from the hereditary *griot* tradition of praising nobles, these are songs rooted in everyday questions of life and love.

The tradition is evident in many of these tracks, which maintain the rough edge of Malian acoustic music – as in the particularly visceral sound of the violin and the guitar-like *ngoni*. But there's also the awareness of pop technology that African musics now invariably exhibit and it's this tension between tradition and innovation that makes the record so fascinating.

In this respect the hi-tech production of *Konyan*, sung by Coumba Sidibe, really stands out, with its tough electric rhythm



The electrifying Oumou Sangaré.

part embellished with flute samples. Expansively unrolling over seven minutes, it's a beautifully sculpted piece, with a fine *kora* solo dropped in, and it boasts the toughest voice on the album, dense and abrasive.

Oumou Sangaré, whose own World Circuit album *Moussolou* is well worth seeking out, has a couple of tracks, as does the harsh-toned young star Sali Sidibe. At a time when many of West Africa's *grands maîtres* of crossover funk – Mory Kante and Salif Keita – are getting distressingly sloppy or self-indulgent, this is a welcome reminder of how good the less publicized female competition can be.

Politics ☆☆☆

Entertainment ☆☆☆

STAR RATING

Excellent ☆☆☆☆
Very good ☆☆☆
Good ☆☆☆
Fair ☆☆
Poor ☆

Reviews editor: Chris Brazier

THE classic

The Pregnant Virgin

... being the book that invokes the new woman's thinking heart

I JUST wanted to fulfil my potential as a woman,' my friend Alison said, 'but I was born into a world controlled by men. So I competed with them and I won. Now I have got this wretched job as a lecturer at a university – and I am surrounded by men in grey suits who want me to talk like them and act like them.' She started to laugh as at some nightmarish joke.

'You wouldn't believe the things I have to do to be taken seriously,' she said. 'I can't even dress as a woman any more. I have to wear a jacket and trousers.' Her laughter stopped abruptly. 'I don't like men so much that I want to be one. But I don't know what I am any more.'

Her confusion reverberates among many women who became feminists because it seemed the only way to be true to ourselves in a society made by and for men. The choice demanded many sacrifices. Often we competed with men – and won – only to be left wondering, at what cost?

It is to us that Marion Woodman speaks in her book *The Pregnant Virgin* – for we have by necessity embarked on a quest for a real identity, not one imposed by the patriarchy in which we live, nor one we imposed on ourselves for so long by living out the expectations we unconsciously absorbed from our mothers and fathers. The identity we seek must come from a much deeper place within.

This place Woodward calls 'the virgin' – by which she means that aspect of the feminine that exists in man or woman 'which has the courage to Be and the flexibility to be always Becoming.' 'The virgin' is pregnant with possibilities. She has a loving relationship with unity, balance and positive energy – which Woodman calls the Great Earth Mother – and if 'the virgin' can allow herself to be penetrated by 'the spirit of life', a woman can become conscious of herself as an individual soul.

This consciousness is a kind of rebirth brought about through ritual. In traditional societies rites of passage enabled human beings to pass through each stage of life – birth, puberty, marriage, parenthood and death – allowing them to forsake the old for the new, to move forward and grow. 'The participant left the ritual with enhanced meaning, with a profound sense of belonging to the cosmos and to a community that respected that cosmos,' writes Woodman.

In Western societies, however, the emphasis on linear growth and achievement alienates human beings from the cyclic patterns of death

and rebirth. We experience ourselves as victims, powerless to resist an overwhelming Fate. The resulting sense of aloneness is particularly acute for women who have rejected the collective masculine values of patriarchy.

For us, initiation into mature womanhood comes about through abandonment – the abandonment of our sense of destiny and belonging. It forces us to seek out our own 'inner story', driving us into even greater conflict with the very forces that we seek to integrate into ourselves – the internalized mother and father who reside in our unconscious minds, and which are themselves the constructs of patriarchy.

So long as we remain driven by these unconscious forces we cannot be free. Instead we perpetually live out unconscious relationships with our parents, often seeking to please our fathers – perhaps by achieving in creative fields previously dominated by men, or by mourning the absence of significant relationships with men in our lives. To be truly liberated we have to make our unconscious drives conscious, to reclaim our abandoned self. Only then can we truly know who we are. Like the symbol of the black Madonna, we must pass through the fire to achieve wholeness.

Just as traditional rituals were marked by pain like scarification, the abandonment which is our rite of passage into womanhood is fraught with pain, fear and danger. It can lead us to reject our bodies – expressed through eating disorders like anorexia and bulimia – or to develop addictions.

Yet at the heart of our distress, our true nature is intact. 'The abandoned one at the heart of an addiction is the soul of the potentially conscious woman,' writes Woodman. To reach her, we must develop a balance between our hearts and minds, which otherwise threaten to tear each other apart. By allowing ourselves to feel with our hearts while accepting with our minds, we can avoid becoming bitter or cutting ourselves off from our own reality.

Despite the vagaries of language and density of concepts, this book offers some penetrating insights into the inter-relationship between the psychological and social pressures upon Western women. It is well worth reading – especially for feminists who have dared to ask the question 'who am I?' For it confirms what some may have already suspected: that we are engaged in a soul-making process of which the pain is an essential part:

*'...the tongues of flame are infolded
Into the crowned knot of fire
And the fire and the rose are one.'*

Sue Shaw

The Pregnant Virgin by Marion Woodman (Inner City Books 1985).





QUESTIONS

...that have always intrigued you about the world will appear in this, your section, and be answered by other readers. Please address your answers and questions to 'curiosities'.



LENNART NILSSON

How does a fly land on a ceiling? How does a fly take off from a ceiling?

As it approaches the ceiling it does a flip so that it arrives feet first. When it takes off I imagine that it does the same in reverse springing away from the ceiling and flipping back the right way round again before buzzing off.

T Wyatt, Oxford

Are large scale eucalyptus planting programmes a good thing or a bad thing for Third World countries?

Like many development and environmental issues there is no right or wrong answer to this question. Debate has raged for some years about eucalyptus. It is a fast-growing tree under the right conditions, but this is because it consumes a great deal of water and rapidly depletes soil fertility. It is therefore an unsuitable genus to plant alongside crops, especially in semi-arid areas. It is a good



woodlot tree and can be grown to produce fuelwood quickly. However, due to its incompatibility with crops, it is usually only richer farmers with land that can be put aside for a woodlot who benefit from eucalyptus planting programmes. The main arguments against eucalyptus are therefore environmental and social, and it would seem that although it may be a useful genus in some cases, it should on the whole be avoided on the large scale.

Justine Dunn, Calabar, Nigeria

What are 'ghost acres'?

The term was first coined by US agronomist, George Borgstrom, to describe land in Third World countries used to grow food for the rich world. Under this system the wealthy

industrialized nations feed their own populations and make big profits for themselves by importing foodstuffs very cheaply. There are well over one million square kilometres of ghost acreage – most of it in countries where hunger and malnutrition are rife. Without it countries such as Germany, Japan and the UK would have great difficulty in meeting the food requirements of their populations and would have to radically change their national diet and consumption patterns.

P Roberts, Birmingham, UK

QUESTIONS awaiting your answers:

Why do men have nipples? Allen Wells, Coventry, UK

What is the difference between 'child mortality rate' and 'infant mortality rate' – and why does it matter? Peter Little, Henley, UK

What is the origin of the term 'Left wing' or 'Right wing'? I have an idea that it dates back to the French revolution. Is this so? Alan Hunter, Greymouth, Aotearoa (NZ)

Why do some cultures write from left to right, and others from right to left? S Quinn, Belton, UK

What were the origins of the Geneva Convention? B. Hastings, Rugby, UK.

Who was the world's longest surviving dictator? Paul Wells, Truro, UK.

If you have any questions please send them to **Curiosities, New Internationalist, 55 Rectory Road, Oxford OX4 1BW, UK**, or to your local NI office (see inside front cover for addresses).



The face of a drowning man

Annalies last saw her boyfriend Sebastião minutes before he was arrested. Now she fears for his life – and her own. She writes this letter from her home in Jakarta.

The recent massacre of 200 people in a Dili graveyard was tragic. But the publicity it got was something of a victory for the people of East Timor, who have seen a third of their population killed by Indonesian troops since the invasion of their country in 1975.

The Indonesian Government had their backs against the wall. Their persecution of the people of East Timor was international news. And there were too many witnesses to this massacre for the Indonesians to pretend it had never happened.

Encouraged by this, Timorese students living here in Jakarta organized a demonstration. They wanted to show support for the victims of the massacre; to give a voice to their people's suffering to be heard here in the capital of Indonesia. Here their protests would also be heard by foreign journalists, embassies and the UN agencies. The students were full of hope. Indeed, 'hope' was the last feeling I heard my friend Sebastião express... before his arrest.

Sebastião had agreed to be the spokesperson for the Jakarta demonstration because he was articulate and his English was good. As a result he has now been singled out as the leader of the demonstration, the 'mastermind'. It's likely that he will be charged under the Anti-Subversion Law of 1963 which is punishable by death. My brain goes numb at the thought of this...

I observed the demonstration from a pedestrian bridge opposite the UN building. With their posters held high, the students condemned the Dili massacre and denounced the brutality of the Indonesian military. On the bridge beside me people ambled by or looked on with curiosity. Plain-clothes police with walkie-talkies were trying to clear the bridge. I summoned the courage to go down to where the demonstrators were gathered and started taking photographs. Suddenly half a dozen military cars appeared and disgorged soldiers wearing purple berets. I thought the protesters would run away but instead they held their posters higher still. After failing to get into the UN building they marched on down to the British, Australian and Japanese Embassies. I went ahead of the demonstration and, walking backwards, took photographs of the march.

I could see Sebastião right at the front, clad in black and with a black headband. Thrust into his face were a dozen or more microphones of Indonesian journalists. Every now and again I could see Sebastião's face re-surfacing from among the large silver mikes, the reporters, the protesters. I now see it as an image of a drowning man, hard and desperate and only periodically coming up for air. But at the time I felt joyful, hopeful, proud. So I leapt into the nearest taxi to get back to the class I was meant to be teaching.

It was only later that I realized something had gone wrong. Normally Sebastião rings every night to confirm that he's all right. He's done this for the past four years. That night he did not call. At

first I thought he and his friends were celebrating and he'd call later. Then I heard the news – 70 students had been arrested minutes after I had left. One week later 49 were released. Sebastião was not among them.

Meanwhile Sebastião's house was ransacked, his videos and books seized. Frightened students contacted me worrying about where to stay the night. There was a wave of arrests of students all over Java as the police set out to break the clandestine movement.

For 10 days Sebastião and 20 other protesters still detained were held at the local police headquarters. They were denied all access to lawyers or humanitarian organizations like the Red Cross. Lawyers who turned up daily to try and see the prisoners were treated with mockery and cynicism by the armed forces. The man in charge of the case, Colonel Wagiman, every day kept the lawyers waiting several hours before telling them that he did not have time to permit visits. The reasons he gave were that he had to 'go and play golf with the visiting Police Commissioner from Singapore' and 'have lunch'.

I feel enraged by powerlessness, depressed and often close to tears. I worry terribly about what they are doing to Sebastião. He is in a single cell, away from all the others and has someone at his side day and night 'to break him down' and make him 'confess'.

I have tried contacting a couple of embassy officials but they do not want to know. All the officials of my

country's embassy did was ring my boss at work to make some inquiries about me, which alarmed the hierarchy there.

Meanwhile, the Indonesian people are being kept in ignorance about the real events at Dili. Many swallow the official line of the Indonesian Commission into the massacre that the soldiers fired on the mourners 'in self-defence'. It's a farce – and I expect Western countries will use the Commission as an excuse to carry on trading with Indonesia. Australia and Britain have much to lose – Australia buys oil from Indonesia, Britain sells arms. Only Canada and Holland have been at all outspoken.

Finally, last night Sebastião was taken out of his cell to see a lawyer. He apparently looked very depressed but had no visible injuries. Asked how he was, he replied, in the presence of two police officers, that he was 'fine'.

I went out to buy some clothes for him. I put his own toothbrush in the parcel so that he will know it came from me. I feel I am in danger myself. I think our phone may be tapped and I cannot get rid of the idea that I am being followed. There are strange cars with mysterious antennae outside my house and office. Military-style vehicles drive up close to my taxi and men with walkie-talkies move around the café where I meet friends for coffee. I should be lying low, but it's not easy while I am trying to find out about Sebastião. ■

Annalies and Sebastião are pseudonyms. To give their real names would put them in greater danger.



PHOTO / TAPOL

Lesotho

LESOTHO is probably best known to outsiders for being the country which is an island surrounded by South Africa, and dominated by it in many ways. Nonetheless, Lesotho has witnessed much in present times.

Last year, five years after Justin Lekhanya ousted Chief Leabua Jonathon, a new leader – Colonel Elias Rameana – took over as head of the military council which now governs the country.

While that transition was relatively peaceful, 1991 also saw riots and looting in Maseru, the capital, and some other towns. The rioters' ire was directed predominantly at non-Basotho businesses, which some believe was a manifestation of increasing economic frustrations facing the country.

Lesotho has never had an easy time of it; lying completely within South Africa's embrace, it is highly dependent on its more powerful neighbour. South Africa only had to close the borders – as it did in 1986 – for that vulnerability to become all too apparent. With just 12 per cent of the country as arable land, Lesotho has traditionally been forced to earn money by exporting what it does have in abundance – men and women –



to the farms and especially the gold mines of South Africa. Some 105,000 migrant workers were working over the border in 1989, not counting illegal ones. The numbers have dropped but remain high at 96,000 this year, out of a population of 1.6 million.

This high scale of migration

has stamped an indelible mark on the social fabric of the country. Female-headed households have always been very common, the women working the land and bringing up families while they await their husbands' return. Many women become 'gold-widows' since male mortality is relatively high

due to the hazards of life in the mines (and the associated lifestyle). Others become *de facto* 'widows' as husbands form new sexual unions over the border.

Many women drift to Maseru, to scratch a subsistence living selling fruit, sheepskin moccasins or 'fast food' – roasted corn on the cob and pigs' knuckles – along the pavements. They are now being joined by another group – retrenched miners. The loss of these men's remittances is something Lesotho can ill afford. An estimate for 1990 put them at some \$320 million for the whole country.

However, the downturn comes at a time when Lesotho is developing a resource that can bring in money – water. The huge water project in the highlands which will sell water to South Africa provides some jobs and will eventually yield a substantial income. Meanwhile, as the political climate warms to South Africa, the benefits the country once had because sanctions encouraged investors to locate production in Lesotho may be lost. No-one would predict easy times ahead for Lesotho.

Gwenda Brophy

AT A GLANCE

Excellent ★★★★★
Good ★★★★
Fair ★★★
Poor ★★
Appalling ★



POLITICS
Military rule continues



1987



INCOME DISTRIBUTION ★

Very skewed; 50% of the population earn 10% of incomes.

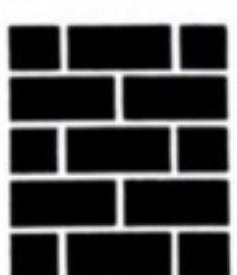
1987★



LITERACY ★★★

Around 65%, much higher than in many other developing countries.

1987: ★★



SELF-RELIANCE ★★

Very heavily dependent on aid in general, and on South Africa.

1987★



FREEDOM ★★

Although a military government, not that hard-line.

1987: ★★



POSITION OF WOMEN ★★

Legal discrimination coexists with high representation in jobs because of absence of men.

1987★



LIFE EXPECTANCY ★★

59 years (US 76 years). Male mortality is high partly because of mine deaths.

1987★★

Leader Colonel Elias Rameana

Economy GNP per capita \$420 (US \$20,910)

Main exports: wool, mohair and labour – at any one time some 40-50% of the male labour force may be absent. Some small-scale manufacturing industries such as clothing and furniture have been developed, and there is a small tourist industry based on outdoor activities such as pony-trekking, and handicrafts.

Main imports: food and most other goods, mainly from South Africa.

People 1.8 million

Health Infant mortality 89 per 1,000 births (US 9 per 1,000)

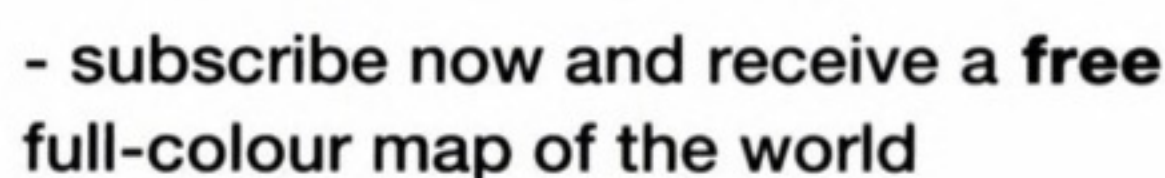
Culture Lesotho is culturally homogeneous, with most people of the Basotho group.

Languages: Sesotho, English

Religion: Christian and local religions

Sources: The State of World Population 1991; Human Development Report 1991 The State of the World's Children 1992; Population Reference Data Sheet, 1990, Population Reference Bureau.

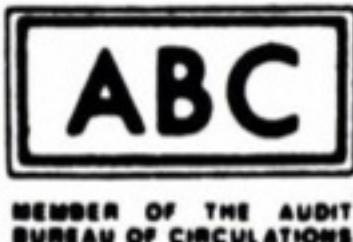
Last profiled in May 1987



Subscribe now – simply fill in your details and mail the coupon to your national subscription office listed on the inside front cover of this edition of the **NI**.

Guarantee: If you later decide that you do not wish to continue receiving the **NI**, simply write to us for a refund.

Please send to: Gandhi Foundation, Kingsley Hall, Powis Road, London E3 3HJ (NI)



UK advertisers: £1.25 per word plus VAT. Minimum order 30 words – £37.50 plus VAT. Discount on three or more advertisements subject to negotiation. Copy date: seven weeks in advance of cover date, e.g. 8th April for June issue. Classified advertisements should be prepaid, cheques payable to New Internationalist Publications Ltd., 55 Rectory Road, Oxford OX4 1BW, UK.

North American advertisers: \$2.50 per word. Minimum order 30 words – \$75. Please contact Wayne Ellwood at 1011 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario M6H 1M1. Tel: (416) 588 6478.

THINKING ABOUT

COMPUTERS? We are a small consultancy specialising in advice to small businesses and voluntary organisations. We can also supply you with all necessary equipment and services. *Appropriate Technology (UK) Ltd.*, 99 -101 Pixmore Avenue, Letchworth, Herts., SG6 1QX, UK. Tel: (0462) 481888.

SERVAS suggests that you may foster international peace by becoming a traveller and/or host in its worldwide network of international hospitality and friendship. Please send a stamp. *North America and Canada: US Service Committee NI*, 11 John Street, Room 706, New York, NY 10038. *Australia: Servas Australia NI*, 16 Cavill Court, Vermont South, Vic. 3133. *Rest of the world: Servas International NI*, PO Box 1035 Edinburgh EH3 9JQ, UK.

INTERNATIONAL HUMANITY Much-travelled folk soon discover that, wherever they are in the world, basic human nature and basic human needs are the same. All peoples need a sufficiency of food and clothing, proper housing and hygienic conditions in which to live. Apart from that for real happiness they need freedom of thought, of association and of movement. They need to be able to read and say what they like and above all they need friendly relationships, affection, love, trust and an absence of the fear that others will harm them. Theosophy or the Ancient Wisdom teaches that spiritually all men are of one family owing reasonable allegiance to each other. This seems like right thinking. To know more about Theosophy write to: *The Blavatsky Trust (N2)*, Avalon, Little Weston, Yeovil BA22 7HP.

SENDING PERSONAL EFFECTS, BAGGAGE, FREIGHT ABROAD? Contact the specialists. *Express Export Services Ltd.*, 143 Wardour Street, London W1, UK on 071-734 8356/7/8. Collections from anywhere in the UK. Goods shipped to all parts of the world safely and economically. AMEX, VISA and ACCESS accepted.

DESERT RECLAMATION CENTRE: Help our vital research, whether expert or starter. You pay from £6 daily, work 24hrs weekly: **SPAIN!** **SUN!** shared purpose! delicious food! good company! (Also both-ways bus from £80) full details £1 from *Unit-N PO Box 2000 Cambridge CB3 0JF* (phone 0480 411784).

BIKE RIDE FOR NICARAGUA Sunday 10th May. London to Aylesbury. Money raised for 500 Years of Resistance Campaign and Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign. Food/entertainment on route. Transport back to London or Oxford. Details: *NSC*, 129 Seven Sisters Rd, London N7 7QG. 071-272-9619.

TAKE A DETOUR! No 5 star hotels, no fish 'n' chips, just unique holidays in developing countries (eg Indonesia, Ghana, Nepal, Venezuela) offering real insight into local culture and development issues. Be a responsible tourist AND really enjoy yourself! Small groups; prices from £1,050. *Detours (NI)*, 80 Stuart Road, London SW19 8DH, UK. Tel: 081-946 6295

NATURAL FRIENDS is a unique friendship/contact agency. If you seek other sincere people who share your important concerns, you can find success by joining our very large, nationwide membership. For full details, please send a stamp to *Natural Friends (NI)*, 15 Benyon Gardens, Culford, Suffolk, IP28 6EA, UK. Tel: 0284-728315 (anytime).

BICYCLE BEANO. Really special cycling weeks with delicious vegetarian wholefoods, friendly company, and spectacular rides in magical Mid Wales and Pembrokeshire coast. Relaxed, non-macho atmosphere. Brochure: *Bicycle Beano (NI)*, 59 Birchill Rd, Clehonger, Hereford, UK. 0981 251087.

SAY NO TO ALL WAR. Join the Anglican Communion's movement for peace. Write: *Anglican Pacifist Fellowship*, Walters Farmhouse, Brenchley, Tonbridge, Kent TN12 7NU, UK. Tel: (089272) 3962. *New Zealand: A.P.F.*, 4 Roland Hill, Glen Eden, Auckland 7. *USA: Episcopal Peace Fellowship*, 620 G Street SE, Washington DC 20003.



LONDON SCHOOL OF HYGIENE & TROPICAL MEDICINE HYGIENE BEHAVIOUR

A Research Fellow or Lecturer is sought to join an interdisciplinary team studying water supply, sanitation and environmental health for developing countries. The team, and this post in particular, is funded by the Overseas Development Administration. The successful candidate will have a particular responsibility for research into the assessment of hygiene behaviour and hygiene indicators for the evaluation of water supply and sanitation programmes, and will also be expected to take a constructive interest in the work of the other members of the team. S/he should therefore have, or be willing to develop, an interest in public health engineering, public health policy and epidemiology. The post will involve several months of overseas travel each year, as well as teaching on several postgraduate courses in public health.

Candidates should have a postgraduate qualification in public health or social sciences, research experience and several years' experience in developing countries.

Salary will be in the range £16,401 – £24,529 inclusive.

Further particulars are available from the Personnel Officer, LSHTM, Keppel Street, London WC1E 7HT (tel 071-927 2203; fax 071-436 5389) to whom applications, with full curriculum vitae and names of two referees, should be sent by **13 April 1992**. Please quote ref SC1.

LATIN AMERICA Low cost flights and adventure holiday journeys 3/4/5 weeks. Brochure: *Journey Latin America*, 16 Devonshire Road, London W4 2HD, UK. Tel: 081-747 8315.

QUALITY ALPACA JUMPERS from non profit-making employment and child care project in Arequipa Peru. For more details and Colour Catalogue, contact *Llama Linda Ltd*, 51 Wordsworth St, Hove, E. Sussex, BN3 5DH.

PERU AND BOLIVIA Sightseeing, meetings with local people, knowledgeable guides, and a week with Peruvians

fighting to protect the Amazon. This unique tour provides an unforgettable holiday and an understanding of "Five Hundred Years of Resistance". July 25th – August 21st. £1365. Further information: Phone 0533 511157 or write *George Lambie, Caribbean Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL*.

WORLD GOODWILL Together all people of goodwill are building the New Humanity. Free quarterly newsletter on New World Order, Africa, UN, Global Spirituality, Development. Papers on meditation, Ageless Wisdom etc. *World Goodwill*, 3 Whitehall Court, London SW1A 2EF, UK.

ETHICAL INVESTMENT

Are you concerned how **SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE** the investment funds are when commencing a pension, taking out a mortgage or simply investing for any other purpose?

- We are Independent Financial Advisers who amongst our services offer **SPECIALIST ADVICE** in **ETHICAL / ECOLOGICALLY AWARE INVESTMENTS**.
- Impartial advice on all current lending schemes (Written quotations upon request)



DARLEY ASSOCIATES
(Darley Insurance Consultants Ltd.)
Northumberland House
230 High Street
Bromley, Kent BR1 1PQ
Tel: (081) 460 2000



Not all the products/services advertised here are regulated by the Financial Services Act 1986 and the rules made for the protection of investors by that Act will not apply to them.
Your home is at risk if you do not keep up repayments on a mortgage or other loan secured on it.

A unique shop, to excite the senses:
Rugs, quilts, cushions, containers, lighting.



Craft made; skilfully designed; affordable.

OXFORD: King Edward Street
CHELTENHAM: Regent Arcade
WOODSTOCK: On the A44

one village
The World Shop

UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Apply now for our new course:

M.ED. IN GENDER, EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

which focuses on the relationship between education and gender in the context of development.

Places are also available on the following Master's Degree Courses – register in January, April or September in any year for certain courses:-

Adult Education and Community Work
Applied Educational Research and Assessment
Audiology and Education of the Deaf
Communication and the Mass Media
Community Organisation for Rural Development
Development and Planning of Overseas Education
Education for Primary Health Care
Education for Rural Development
Educational Psychology
Higher/Teacher Education
Human Resource Development
Industrial Education and Training
Management and Administration of Education
Microprocessors in Education
Science and Technology Education
School/College Management
Special Education (International)

Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

Large programme of Doctoral and M.Phil Degrees by research.

Short courses arranged in all subjects on request.

Write for further information to: Tina Baker, School of Education,
Dept NI, University of Manchester, Manchester M13 9PL.
Telephone: 061-275 3463 Fax: 061-275 3519



INSTITUTE OF POPULATION STUDIES

TRAINING FOR RESEARCH AND MANAGEMENT IN POPULATION, FAMILY PLANNING AND HEALTH SERVICE PROVISION, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The Institute for Population Studies, a World Health Organization Collaborating Centre for Research in Human Reproduction, offers the following:

- PhD in Applied Population Research (3 years)
- MA in Applied Population Research (1 year – starting October)
- MA in Family Planning Programme Management (1 year – starting October)
- Short Courses in Family Planning Research and Management (7 – 11 weeks)
- Attachments (1 month)

For further details please contact:

The Training Officer, Institute of Population Studies, University of Exeter,
Hooper House, 101 Pennsylvania Road, Exeter, EX4 6DT, Devon, UK.
Tel: (0392) 57936 or 263800. Telex: 42894 EXUNIV G. Fax (0392) 263801.

UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

Conflict or Cooperation? The Challenge of Urban Education

A NEW INTERNATIONAL MASTERS COURSE IN URBAN EDUCATION

The M.Ed. in Urban Education is modular and has been designed to provide structured but flexible teaching for full-time or part-time students. Although drawing widely on the British scene it also takes into account developments in other countries thereby providing valuable comparative approaches for all students.

For a full colour brochure contact:

Professor G. K. Verma, School of Education, University of
Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL.
Tel: 061-275-3508



Centre for Development Studies Swansea

The Centre offers the following courses for development workers, administrators, planners and academics.

M.Sc. Degrees – 12 months

M.Sc. in Regional Development Planning
M.Sc. in Health Planning and Development
M.Sc. in Social Development Planning and Management
M.Sc. in Food Policy and Commodity Trade
M.Sc. in Development Policy and Planning

Post Graduate Diplomas – 9 months

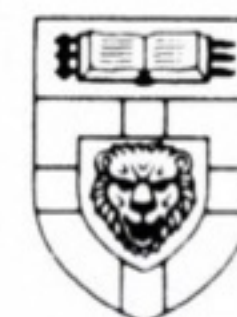
Diploma in Development Policy and Planning
Diploma in Social Policy and Administration

B.Sc.(Econ) Single Honours Degree in Development Studies and Joint Honours programmes with Economics, Geography, Sociology, Social Anthropology, Politics and Spanish.

The Centre also offers 10-week specialized courses and individual study programmes.

For further details of the above courses and application forms, please write to:

The Admissions Secretary, Centre for Development Studies,
University College of Swansea, Singleton Park, Swansea SA2 8PP, Wales, UK.
Tel: 0792 295332 Fax: 0792 295682 Telex: 48149 UICSG



GOLDSMITHS' COLLEGE University of London

HIGHER DEGREES IN ANTHROPOLOGY

The Department of Anthropology invites applications for the following higher degrees

MA in Social Anthropology (full and part-time)

MA in Applied Anthropology and Community and Youth Work (with professional valuation) (full time)

MPhil/PhD (full and part-time)

The department is a recognised outlet for ESRC grants for both the MA in Social Anthropology and the MPhil/PhD degrees. Students who wish to be considered for ESRC funding will need to apply to the department by 10 April.

The department includes the following specialisms: East and Central Africa, South Asia, Caribbean, South America, Europe (especially the Mediterranean), Britain. Medical anthropology, development, peasantries, ethnohistory, ethnobotany and zoology, gender, food, feminist anthropology, urban anthropology, popular culture, film and mass media.

For further details please apply to:

The Faculty of Social and Mathematical Sciences,
Goldsmiths' College, University of London,
New Cross, London SE14 6NW

Tel: 081 692 7171 ext. 2228

UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT POLICY AND MANAGEMENT

The Institute for Development Policy and Management (IDPM) is an autonomous multi-disciplinary group within the University of Manchester. Its objective is to make a practical contribution to the removal of poverty and under-development in Third World countries through the design of more effective public policies and institutions. IDPM offers doctoral, Masters and advanced diploma programmes, see below; and a range of professionally oriented short courses.

- PhD programme – normally 3 years, including one year of fieldwork in a developing country
- Masters Degrees - 12 months
MSc in Human Resource Development
MSc in Management and Implementation of Development Projects
MA (Econ) in Development Administration and Management

MA (Econ) in Economics and Management of Rural Development
MAs in Institutional Development/Corporate Development

- Post-graduate Diplomas – 9 months
Diploma in Development Administration
Diploma in Training and Development for the Public Sector

For further details of all courses offered by the Institute and application forms, please contact:
Publishing & Promotions Dept. (AD3), Institute for Development Policy and Management, University of Manchester, Precinct Centre, Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9QS

Tel: 061-275 2800 Fax: 061-273 8829 Telex: 669755 OFFICE G att IDPM

The FOOD Book

Recipes from Africa, Asia and Latin America for Western kitchens with country information and food facts.

HOW about cooking Latin American tonight? Try *chiles en nogada* (peppers in walnut sauce) or spicy beef with almonds. Have some avocado salad and corn cake on the side, with a glass of passion fruit juice to drink ...

Some of the best cooking in the world goes on day after day in the villages of Africa and the Middle East, the hills of the Andes, and on the plains of India. Now collected together in this **NI Food Book** are some of the world's tastiest dishes for you to cook at home.

Full of wholesome, economical dishes (and a few more lavish ones), tested and adapted for Western cooks, this practical hard-cover book looks good too. Colour plates set off the mouth-watering recipes which are set out by region and by course. Black and white photographs and smaller illustrations vividly bring to life the people and countries behind the food. Features on the history of food; the world's ten basic staple foods; a glossary; and anecdotal introductions to each recipe give the New Internationalist perspective which makes this cookbook special to read as well as to cook from.

The simple step-by-step cooking method and range of fully-indexed recipes means that the **NI Food Book** is practical for beginners as well as experienced cooks. At this price it makes an ideal gift for you, your friends and family, and when you buy three or more (sent to one address) you will receive a pack of 10 full-colour Third World Greetings Cards worth £3.95/\$11.90. The **NI Food Book** (192pp) measures 8½" x 8½" and each one is individually boxed to arrive in perfect condition.

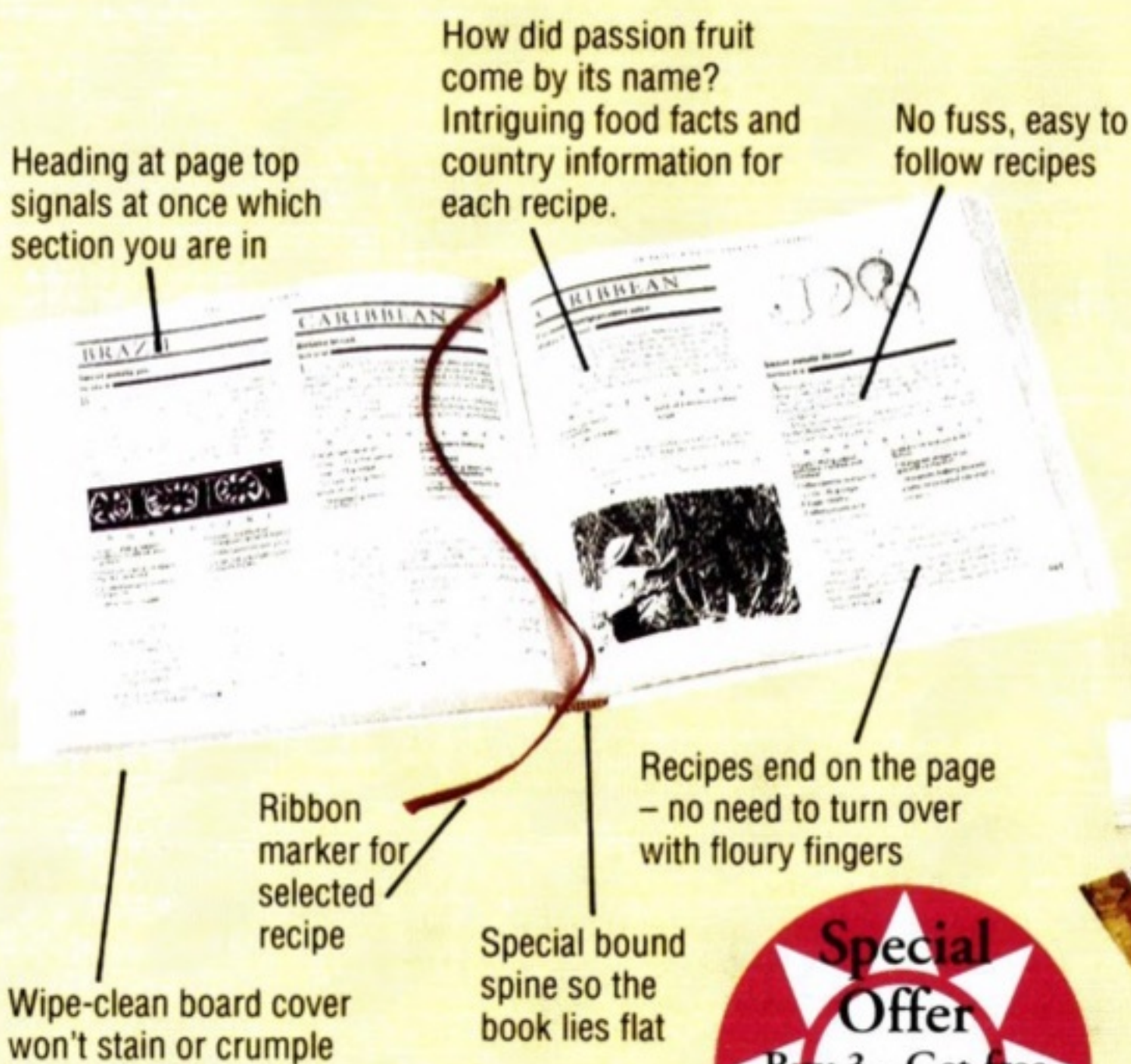
So, roll up your sleeves and fill in the reply slip, sending it together with your cheque/money order payable to New Internationalist. Good food, good pictures, good facts – this is the perfect cookbook for you, your friends, relations, colleagues...



A special cookbook from the New Internationalist...

"I love the **NI Food Book**! A mouth-watering taste of the amazingly diverse cultures of our small planet." **Frances Moore Lappé**, author of the best-selling *Diet for a Small Planet*.

"The **NI Food Book** takes you on a remarkable excursion around the world. There are some 200 wonderful recipes which can easily be followed in our own kitchens." **Glenys Kinnock**, chair of One World.



- ★ Over 200 recipes – wide variety of fascinating meals to cook.
- ★ Clear step-by-step cooking method.
- ★ Recipes and ingredients adapted for Western kitchens.
- ★ Personally-introduced recipes from NI readers.
- ★ Notes on healthy eating.
- ★ Economical dishes – time-saving and practical too.
- ★ New or unusual things to try (OK, so *gado-gado* is not new to you!)
- ★ Colour covers, 10 colour plates, and map.



NI FOOD BOOK

YES Please send me ____* copies of the **NI Food Book**. I enclose my cheque/money order payable to New Internationalist for _____ †(see below)

☐ *Check box if ordering 3 or more to claim your gift.

BLOCK LETTERS please

Name _____

Address _____

Postcode _____

†Prices: UK £9.99 + £1.50 p & p; Canada/US \$19.95 + \$2.95 p & p; Rest of world £9.99 + £5.00 p & p (airmail only. Please pay by sterling money order or cheque drawn on UK account.)

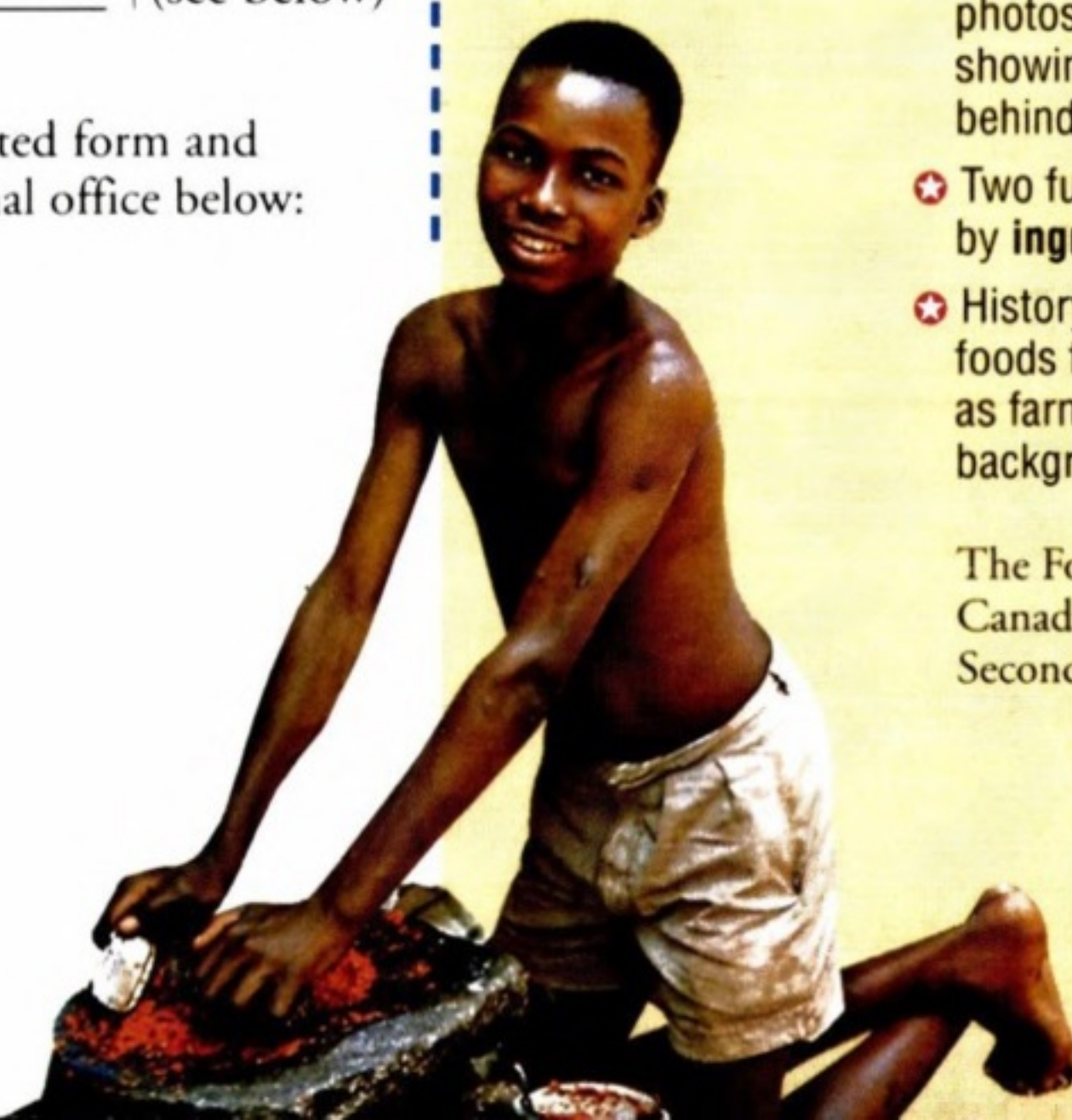
No need to clip your NI - Either photocopy this form or print ordering details clearly on a separate sheet and send along with payment.

Order it here

Please send this completed form and payment to your national office below:

UK/Rest of world:
55 Rectory Road,
Oxford OX4 1BW

Canada and US:
39 Riviera Drive,
Markham,
Ontario L3R 8N4



- ★ Top-quality black and white photos and illustrations showing people and places behind the food.
- ★ Two full indexes, by **region** and by **ingredient**.
- ★ History of food including how foods travelled, women's work as farmers: distinctive NI background information.

The Food Book is published in Canada in conjunction with Second Story Press, Toronto.

Guarantee: If you are not happy with the book, just send it back within 10 days and we'll gladly refund your money.